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THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN
OF OUR TIME AND COUNTRY WHO BY WISE AND GENEROUS GIVING
HAVE ENCOURAGED THE SEARCH AFTER TRUTH
IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

THE INTERPRETATION OF ITALY

THE INTERPRETATION OF ITALY DURING THE LAST TWO CENTURIES

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF GOETHE'S "ITALIENISCHE REISE"

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction		xiii
Chapter I.	The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	1
Chapter II.	Rationalism	9
Chapter III.	Transition from Rationalism to Romanticism	35
Chapter IV.	Sicily	59
Chapter V.	Goethe's "Tagebücher"	65
Chapter VI.	Romanticism	86
Chapter VII.	Goethe's "Italienische Reise"	111
Chapter VIII.	Modern Times	123
Appendix.	Americans in Italy	143
Index		149

INTRODUCTION

PERHAPS no one of Goethe's works has called out more contradictory opinions than has the *Italienische Reise.* To many it is, even today, the best record of Italian travel which we possess; to others it seems insufficient and one-sided. Thus, Christian Schuchardt[1] claims that for those who aim at true culture there is no better work on Italy, as preparation for the journey and as a guide during the trip, and also as an epitome of one's own experiences after one's return. On the other hand, Niebuhr[2] regards Goethe's work as essentially unsatisfactory. He says:

> Ich möchte glauben, dass Goethe für bildlich darstellende Künste grade gar keinen Sinn hat . . . . ein andres ist die ganze Stimmung, worin er nach Italien kommt und in Italien wandelt. Diese ist höchst merkwürdig . . . . aber möchte man nicht darüber weinen? Wenn man so eine ganze Nation und ein ganzes Land bloss als eine Ergötzung für sich betrachtet, in der ganzen Welt und Natur nichts siehet, als was zu einer unendlichen Decoration des erbärmlichen Lebens gehört, alles geistig und menschlich Grosse, alles was zum Herzen spricht, wenn es da ist vornehm beschaut, wenn es vom Entgegengesetzten verdrängt und überwältigt worden, sich an der komischen Seite des Letzten ergötzet . . . .

All possible shades of opinion exist between these two extremes. Hence it seems not unprofitable to contribute to the study of Goethe's *Italienische Reise* by a comparison of this work with the travels of his predecessors of the eighteenth century. To round out this background, it will be advisable further to take into account some of the most important

[1] *Goethes Italiänische Reise: Aufsätze und Aussprüche über bildende Kunst.* Mit Einleitung und Bericht über dessen Kunststudien und Kunstübungen. Herausg. von CHRISTIAN SCHUCHARDT. 2 vols. (Stuttgart; Vol. I, 1862; Vol. II, 1863). For this passage cf. Vol. I, p. 53.

[2] Cf. *Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr* (Hamburg, 1838), Vol. II, pp. 289 ff.

nineteenth-century records of Italian travel; for thus only can we determine both in how far Goethe was original, and to what degree, if any, he has been supplemented.

It appears the more worth while to undertake such a task, because Italy, since the Renaissance, has meant more than any other single country to the culture-life of all nations. Generation after generation journeyed thither to derive inspiration from her in various directions. Hence the vast multitude of letters, travels, descriptions, essays, etc., dealing with Italy, which crowd the shelves of libraries in Europe and America, and form one of the important records of the civilization of modern times.

Italy, indeed, is so many-sided that she could bestow on all who sought her shores gifts suited to their peculiar needs. No two succeeding generations, at least during the last two centuries, have seen or appreciated there the same elements. What charmed one offended the other; what was a matter of indifference to one called out pæans of praise from the other. As intellectual life widened, the wealth of Italy's resources became more and more apparent. The more one expected of her, the more she gave; she never disappointed.

The time of Goethe's visit was peculiarly ripe for a new interpretation of the famous peninsula. Rousseau had reconquered nature; Winckelmann had revealed Greek antiquity; the new scientific movement had stimulated men to a maturer understanding of the physical world; while the study of history in the spirit of Voltaire, and especially of Herder, was preparing for a deeper and more tolerant understanding of human phenomena. Moreover, the strong democratic tendencies of the times, best exemplified, perhaps, by some of the articles in the *Encyclopédie*, were calling attention to the humbler phases of life. Further, a more general interest in art was rapidly spreading—marked, for instance, by Diderot's *Salons*, which contributed to the popularization of

painting—and a new interpretation of the artistic past was being faintly foreshadowed, although the old classical standards still held sway. Lastly, a strong sense of the picturesque was asserting itself and was leading to the discovery of hitherto neglected places. It appears, then, that the period from 1786 to 1788 was a singularly interesting one in which to visit Italy. Goethe's work may be studied as the touchstone of the degree of intellectual maturity he had reached when he jotted down the impressions and criticisms which form the basis of the *Italienische Reise.*

CHAPTER I

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

AMONG the records of Italian travel that have come down to us through the ages,[1] the first with which we need occupy ourselves, because of the glamor of the author's name, is the account of a trip through parts of Germany,

[1] The most convenient bibliography of Italian travel is to be found in ALESSANDRO D'ANCONA, *L'Italia alla fine del secolo XVI: Giornale del viaggio di Michele di Montaigne in Italia nel 1580 e 1581: Città di Castello, 1895*, pp. 565 ff. It is based mainly on BOUCHER DE LA RICHARDERIE, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages* (Paris, 1808; 6 vols.), and on JOSEPH BLANC, *Bibliographie italico-française universelle, ou catalogue méthodique de tous les livres imprimés en langue française sur l'Italie ancienne et moderne depuis l'origine de l'imprimérie 1475–1885* (Milan, 1886; 2 vols.). D'Ancona, although not pretending to completeness, proved very useful. But the errors into which he was led by Boucher de la Richarderie, together with numerous misprints, compel caution in the use of the book. Furthermore, Richard, Lalande, Volkmann, Bernoulli, Goethe, Stendhal, Heine, Hehn, and others—all travelers in Italy who will be discussed later—speak of some of their predecessors. Lastly, a few studies written in popular vein, deal—partially at least—with the subject of this investigation. The first is contained in J. J. AMPÈRE'S *La Grèce, Rome et Dante* (I used the 9th ed., Paris, *s. a.*), pp. 113–228. It is entitled "Portraits de Rome à différents âges," and gives a rapid survey of the utterances on Rome on the part of celebrated men from 425 to about 1830. This essay furnished some stimulating suggestions, although the treatment—in keeping with the entire book—is popular rather than scientific. The second study is L. FRIEDLÄNDER'S "Reisen in Italien in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten" (*Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. VII [1876], pp. 233–51). The eminent historian, from the wealth of his reading, broadly sketches the conditions of travel in Italy during the last three centuries, and, often in very suggestive fashion, discusses the impressions of the travelers who came to his notice. A. FARINELLI, in his excellent investigation entitled *Goethe e il Lago Maggiore* (Bellinzona, 1894), mentions many travels to Italy. G. VON GRAEVENITZ, in his *Deutsche in Rom* (Leipzig, 1902), describes in an attractive way the experiences of prominent Germans in Rome. The book, however, aims at popular treatment, and hence could contribute but slightly to this study. Less valuable is ALBERT BOURNET'S *Rome, Études de littérature et d'art* (Paris, 1883). In chatty style various travelers in Rome (mostly Frenchmen) are passed in review. The second part of the book, entitled "Maîtres de l'école française à Rome," is unique in plan, though, like the rest, superficial in treatment. The author comments on the sojourn of French painters in Rome from Poussin to Regnault. HEINRICH SMIDT'S *Ein Jahrhundert römischen Lebens: Von Winckelmanns Romfahrt bis zum Sturze der weltlichen Papstherrschaft: Berichte deutscher Augenzeugen* (Leipzig, 1901) is a compilation of letters, abstracts from diaries, etc., describing the Rome of the last one hundred and fifty years as seen by prominent Germans. Other books which have proved useful for some detail will be mentioned in the course of this investigation.

France, and Italy by Michel de Montaigne.[1] This brilliant sage went to the South, mainly in search of health, in 1580 and returned in 1581. In other words, he had the unique privilege of seeing Italy at the time when the Renaissance movement had just reached—or just crossed—its zenith in most of her cities; when Tintoretto was living and working in Venice, not long after the death of Michael Angelo and of Titian; that is to say, immediately after the close of the most wonderful upheaval of intellectual life since the days of Pericles. Nevertheless, one is disappointed in finding in these pages scarcely anything approaching a treatment worthy of the subject. The author's health is of more interest to him than all the art in the world. The Venice of 1580 is to him "un peu moins admirable" than he had anticipated —a view to be explained, perhaps, by the attack of colic which he mentions as having depressed him during his stay in the City of the Doges. The crowds of foreigners, the peculiar location of the city, St. Mark's, appear to him worthy of notice, to be sure; but neither the art, nor the many palaces, churches, squares, canals, balconies, nooks, and corners elicit from him interesting comment. Nor is he happier in his discussion of other cities. He finds more attraction in the curiosities and the furniture in a palace belonging to the duke of Florence than in the paintings of the Uffizi. Only ancient Rome inspires him to a burst of prose worthy of so great a stylist.[2] But even this admiration implies no quickening of his inner life. For the remnants of antique grandeur that he saw there were not to him, as they later were to Goethe, a mighty source of inspiration—a thing essentially alive, not dead; nor did their picturesque-

[1] The best modern edition is the one by d'Ancona, quoted above. Montaigne's manuscript was lost, discovered again by Prunis in the castle of Montaigne, and edited for the first time by de Querlon (Rome, 1774). For criticisms on Montaigne's notes cf. STE. BEUVE, *Nouveaux Lundis*, Vol. II, pp. 156 ff. (especially pp. 171 ff.); also ed. d'Ancona, pp. 666 ff.

[2] Cf. FRIEDLÄNDER, *loc. cit.*, pp. 238 ff.

ness fill him, as it afterward did the Romanticists, with elegiac regret. He speaks of them, rather, as do de Brosses and other Latinists of the eighteenth century, in a tone betraying veneration for the rulers of the ancient world and contempt for its destroyers.[1] Here and there Montaigne mentions details which interest us from a historical point of view. Thus he states that Ferrara and Pisa seemed deserted (much as they do today), while the streets of Rome were so crowded that they reminded him of Paris—a statement which no traveler of the eighteenth century could have made.[2]

Not essentially more elevated, but far more vivid in style, is the account of Italy found in *Coryats Crudities: Hastily gobled up in Five Moneths Travells in France, Savoy, Italy* (published in 1611). The author, Thomas Coryate, a bizarre hybrid of buffoon and genius, visited the north of Italy in 1608 and gave an account of various cities, especially of Venice. His description exhibits a naïve enjoyment of all the phenomena, artistic and social, which presented themselves to his delighted eye. Consequently he takes pains to record, in his peculiar style, a large number of particulars of unequal importance. This fact made his book for many years a treasure-house of information. For our purpose he can claim none but historical interest, since he lacks critical sense, knows nothing of art, and is devoid of the instinct for the picturesque; see his characterization of the "workman-

[1] The same exclusive worship of the grandeur of ancient Rome is reflected in the graceful sonnet-cycle of JOACHIM DU BELLAY, *Antiquitez de Rome: Contenant une generale description de sa grandeur. et comme une deploration de sa ruine.* This delicate Ronsardian, who was in Rome from 1549 on, never tires of emphasizing with infinite variations that the remnants of the ancient city and its associations are the sole elements of importance; in spite of all the ravages of time and the cruelty of man, its "grandeur du rien" cannot but "esmerveiller le monde" (Sonnet XIII).

[2] In 1632 a Frenchman could claim that Rome looked like a big village with low houses and many *vignes* (cf. LUCIEN MARCHEIX, *Un Parisien à Rome et à Naples en 1632: D'après un manuscrit inédit de J.-J. Bouchard* (Paris, *s. a.*). The same traveler says of Naples that it looked more like "une grande ville inachevée." In 1764 Grosley (of whom more later) speaks at length of the depopulation of Italy.

ship" of the "Paradise" of Tintoretto. Occasionally he bursts into genuine, though crude, enthusiasm, as in his description of Venice.[1]

On the whole, Montaigne's and Coryate's books may be regarded as fair types of the "travels" of the sixteenth and even of the seventeenth century. The records of those days display comparatively little care for the artistic or the characteristic side of life. Besides the learning which attracted thousands,[2] mainly things curious or exotic exercised fascination. An age that collected popular poetry in the spirit in which boys collect Indian arrow-heads would travel in a mood wholly foreign to us moderns.[3]

[1] Not even animated by a personal note is the purely informational account of Italy found in FYNES MORYSON'S *Itinerary*. Moryson was a contemporary of Shakespeare who visited Italy in 1593 ff. He gives a considerable number of facts concerning the government, princes, customs, and manners of the country. The descriptions of Italy are contained in that portion of the *Itinerary* which remained in manuscript until recently. (Cf. CHARLES HUGHES, *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* [London, 1903].)

[2] To the Humanists, of course, Italy, especially Rome, as the treasure-trove of the remnants of classic art and literature, was the fountain of youth for the world. In her universities they sought enlightenment with which to frustrate mediæval scholasticism, and in her libraries the wealth of ancient lore. But this subject, fascinating as it is, does not concern us here.

[3] By way of filling out the picture, I am tempted to add at least a cursory reference to a few more travels of the sixteenth century which consistently illustrate the method adopted by Montaigne. In 1521 JACOBUS LOPES STUNICA, a Catholic theologian and an antagonist of Erasmus, published a brief record of a trip from Spain to Rome by way of Lucca, Florence, Siena, etc., entitled *Itinerarium ab Hispania usque ad urbem Romanam*, etc. (Romae, 1521). He visited these places during the period of their greatest artistic activity, but furnishes us with only a few dry statements. GEORG FABRICIUS, a famous pedagogue from Chemnitz, improves on Stunica in his *Roma* and *Itinerum liber unus* (Basileæ, 1551). The work contains short statements of the location and names of buildings, bridges, etc., in Rome, and Latin hexameters describing a trip to Rome and to a few other cities in Italy. The whole shows a certain power of observation, but is unworthy of the subject. Interesting for the history of German literature is the description in German rhymes of a trip to Italy taken in 1598 by Fürst Ludwig zu Anhalt-Köthen. He was received into the Accademia della Crusca in Florence, the model for the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. I know this description only from the pamphlet by REUMONT, *Descrizione di Firenze nel 1598 del Principe Lodovico d'Anhalt* (Firenze, 1859). Very valuable as a mine of information and as a proof of scholarly interest in Italy, but not as a record of travel, is the *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia ed Isole pertinenti ad essa* di F. LEANDRO ALBERTI. The original edition appeared in Bologna in 1550; I used the edition issued in Venice in 1577. (1,003 pages are given to Italy proper, 193 to the islands, including Venice!) The work was often reprinted and

The seventeenth century—the age of Leibnitz, of Corneille and Racine, of Bossuet and Milton: intellectual, refined, and dignified—produced nothing in the history of Italian travel that essentially improved upon Montaigne. It seems extraordinary that in a century in which flourished some of the great prose-writers of history, which loved pomp and grandeur, which was interested in antiquity—at least in Roman antiquity—there should not have arisen a single writer whose treatment of the country of Caesar and Cicero, of Augustus and Hadrian, of Lorenzo de' Medici and Leo X, of the Humanists and the Latin poets, is even distantly satisfactory. Indifference to art and to the beauties of nature, total lack of descriptive power and of ability to characterize, together with a puerile quest for curiosities, and sterile erudition—these are the conspicuous features of seventeenth-century travel.[1] Those generations seem, indeed, to have regarded Italy less as a source of culture than as the home of the Catholic church—and hence an object of reverence to Catholics and an irritation to Protestants; as a repository of curiosities which comparatively few people went to the great expense and trouble of looking up, and as the home of

also translated into Latin (Cologne, 1567). This beautifully printed book gives us the history and a description of the sites of the various towns, tells of the fruits and produce of Italy, etc. Of art the author evidently knows but little. (RABELAIS' letters written from Rome to "M. de Mailletzais" (1535-36) and his *Sciomachie* contain nothing for our purpose.)

[1] We must, however, distinguish between "travels" and travelers. Because the spirit of the seventeenth century did not adequately express itself in the extant descriptions of Italy, we may not definitely conclude that all travelers were blind to the various charms of the country. *The Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet* are sufficient to prove that not all were insensible to the poetic atmosphere of Italy; and passages like the following, from a letter of BALZAC (*Œuvres de J.-L. de Guez, sieur de Balzac* . . . . publiées . . . . par L. MOREAU, Vol. I [Paris, 1854], pp. 421 f.), show that some, at least, were sensible to the grandeur of ancient Rome: "A Rome, vous marcherez sur des pierres qui ont esté les dieux de César et de Pompée: vous considérez les ruines de ces grands ouvrages, dont la vieillesse est encore belle." But he adds: "Mais ce sont les amusemens d'un esprit qui se contente de peu, ... je ne doute point qu'après avoir encore regardé beaucoup d'autres choses, vous ne vous lassiez à la fin du repos et de la tranquillité de Rome." Not until the eighteenth century do we find adequate comments.

those ancient Romans whom every schoolboy was taught to worship.[1]

As a characteristic representative of the discussions of Italy of this time may be mentioned *Itinerarium Italiae Nov-Antiquae: oder Raiss-Beschreibung durch Italien . . . . durch Martinum Zeillerum* (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1640). This is a large folio volume, splendidly printed, and adorned with numerous fine maps and plans.[2] The work is marked by care and by stupid erudition. To prove his learning, Zeiller prints at the beginning a long "Catalogus" of the authors he consulted and to whom he constantly refers, in and out of place. The text proper is singularly pedantic and more unsatisfactory than even Montaigne—a fault the more offensive since Zeiller pretends to give a complete description of the country, while Montaigne merely jotted down a few notes for his own delectation. He begins with a general statistical statement concerning the courts, the various governments, the different roads by which to cross the Alps, etc. He interlards his descriptions with supposedly important historical facts. Curiosities—such as a *Prachtbett* in Florence, extraordinary objects in the Uffizi, an altar of peacock feathers in the Vatican—attract him more than paintings, statues, or buildings. He knows nothing whatever of art (the name of Raphael does not occur once in his work), and consequently has no eye for the character of the various cities. This method is most

[1] So John Milton, who went to Italy in 1638, was well fitted by his training and habits of classical study to appreciate the elegance, the scholarship, and the antiquities of Italy as he found them in Florence, in the Rome of Urban VIII, and in the Naples of Manso, Tasso's friend. He has, however, left us no detailed account of his trip. (Cf., however, *Works of John Milton*, ed. JOHN MITFORD, Vol. VI [London, 1863], *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, etc., pp. 247 ff., especially p. 288; also MASSON, *Life of Milton*, Vol. I [London, 1881], pp. 759 ff.)

[2] The maps of Rome are interesting as representing the city before Bernini had finished his work there. St. Peter's was a different church then from what it is now. The square in front of it lacks the colonnade, etc. On Zeiller, the scholar and writer, cf. VON WALDBERG'S article in the *Allg. Deut. Biog.*

irritating in his treatment of Venice, which under his pen seems deprived of all her beauty.[1]

Even persons of greater versatility than Zeiller were unable to reflect in their notes on Italy any of that indefinable charm which haunts almost every part of the peninsula and which Claude Lorrain was at this time portraying so adequately. Thus, John Evelyn, in his famous *Diary*[2] tells us in dry fashion of the daily events during his trip to Italy in 1644–45. His taste in art is unindividual, all sense of the picturesque being entirely wanting. His characterization of the Dome of Pisa is typical of his method: "The domo, or cathedrall, standing neere it [the Tower] is a superb structure, beautified with six columns of greate antiquity; the gates are of brasse, of admirable workmanship." Nor have his descriptions of the Colosseum, of the Campo Santo, and of

[1] Not satisfied with one work of this character, ZEILLER republished his material on Italy in the form of a sort of dictionary, entitled *Topographia Italiae. Das ist: Warhaffte und Curiöse Beschreibung von gantz Italien* (Frankfurt, 1688). These expensive books show that there was a public willing and able to pay for information on Italy, however unattractive in form.

Not a few works on Italy during the seventeenth century were written in Latin and addressed primarily to the world of scholars. The first to be mentioned here is *Itinerarii Italiae Rerumque Romanorum libri tres* . . . . (Antwerpiae 1600), by F. SCOTTUS. This book became immensely popular, was translated into Italian, and was constantly reprinted and augmented by discussions and criticisms of new works on Italy as they appeared. So in the Rome edition of 1737 (the only one I know) Misson, Wright, and Addison are attacked for their inaccuracies. Popular also was the work entitled *Italia Antiqua, opus* . . . . *tabulis geographicis aere expressis illustratum* (Lugduni Batavorum 1624), by the eminent geographer, PHILIP CLUVERIUS. The very title of the next work here to be enumerated is significant: *Nova et accurata Italiae Hodiernae Descriptio: In qua omnium eius regionum, urbium, pagarum, dominiorum, castellorum, montium, fluviorum, fontium, lacuum, et portium, historia exhibetur. Geographicis tabulis et urbium praecipuarum iconibus illustrata a Iudoco Hondio: Addita est Siciliae, Sardiniae, Corsica, et itinerariorum per Italiam brevis delineatio* (Amsterdam, 1626; 406 pages). A learned historical treatise, entitled, *Latium, id est, Nova et Parallela Latii tum Veteris tum Novi Descriptio: Qua quecumque vel Natura, vel Veterum Romanorum Ingenium admiranda effecit, seriem exponitur et enucleatur* (Amsterdam, 1671), was written by ANATHASIUS KIRCHER, the famous, or rather notorious, Egyptologist and antiquarian who founded the museum "Kircherianum" in Rome. *Roma Sotterranea; opera postuma di Antonio Bosio: Nella quale si tratta de' sacri cimiterii di Roma* . . . . *delle cose memorabili, sacre e profane, ch'erano nelle medesime vie* . . . . (1st ed., Rome, 1632; I know only the edition published at Rome in 1650), is curious as an early exhibition of interest in mediæval Rome.

[2] I used the edition by William Bray, London, 1898.

St. Mark's Square more atmosphere. All these spots, to us so redolent of feeling and of beauty, are to him mere curiosities, made more interesting by the addition of any fortuitous legend connected therewith. What the art of the sculptor meant to him appears from the following: "The new piece of Daphne and David, of Cavaliere Bernini, is observable for the pure whiteness of the stone, and the art of the statuary which is stupendious." In Rome he meets "Father Kircherus, professor of Mathematics and the Oriental tongues."

Equally void of charm and of life is Philip Skippon's *An Account of a Journey made thro' Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France.*[1] Skippon, who arrived in Italy in 1663, exhibits the same tendency to catalogue, the same ignorance of art, and the same dreary love for inscriptions which we found in Evelyn. Skippon, however, takes an interest in the governments of the different Italian states, and is one of the early visitors to Sicily.

Apparently the first journey to Italy which was undertaken with a distinct purpose was the one described in *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676,* by Spon (and Wheler) (Amsterdam, 1679). In the dedication of this celebrated work (to "Père de la Chaize") Spon distinctly says: "C'est seulement l'amour de l'antiquité qui m'a fait entreprendre le voyage d'Italie et de Grèce." He spent a long time in Rome studying nothing but "les statues" and "les bas reliefs" and "à copier toutes les Inscriptions." Hence he is the first forerunner of Caylus, Barthélemy, and the whole movement which Winckelmann brought to such marvelous consummation.[2]

[1] To be found in the sixth volume of *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, etc. I know only the third edition (London, 1746).

[2] In 1686 appeared a work entitled *De l'utilité des voyages, et de l'avantage que la recherche des antiquitez procure aux sçavans.* (I know only the *Nouvelle édition*, Rouen, 1727.) The author, BAUDELOT DE DAIRVAL, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions, urges with intelligence and erudition the advantage of traveling for the sake of seeing and studying the "antiquitez" of various countries — that is, the manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, etc., besides the languages and customs.

CHAPTER II

RATIONALISM

During the first half of the eighteenth century travelers were still animated by a reverential love for Roman antiquity, much as their predecessors of the seventeenth century had been. The beauties of nature which today cause thousands to flock to Sorrento, Amalfi, Capri, Taormina, and to the lakes of Garda and Como, did not allure that generation. But the physical peculiarities of the country, its history, the manners and customs of the people, interested the more intelligent travelers, although they were still lacking in the critical faculty. Soon, however, there was manifested a rapidly growing interest in art, which could not but determine a route of travel very different from our own. It will be well, therefore, to familiarize ourselves with the standards which then prevailed in painting, sculpture, and architecture.

From the age of Louis XIV, distinguished by refinement, self-control, intellectuality, aristocratic dignity, the first half of the eighteenth century—the age of Rationalism—inherited many of its ideals. As a consequence, in matters of art the latter period insisted on clearness of vision, balance, self-control, and technical adequacy. Antiquity was regarded as having reached the limit of human accomplishment. Artists, therefore, were generally judged according to their supposed conformity with antique standards. Hence Raphael—the Raphael of the second manner—was ranked supreme, as having most closely approached that ideal which no modern could ever hope quite to attain. The Masters of Bologna, the Carracci, Guido Reni, Dominichino, and even Guercino—half meaningless to us today—seemed equal, even superior, to

Raphael in grace and technical skill. Moreover, the Venetians of the High Renaissance, especially Titian and Paolo Veronese, could not fail to satisfy an age so fond of worldly splendor. Lastly, Correggio, the father of chiaroscuro, gave supreme delight by his combination of entrancing elegance and piquant voluptuousness. To a time absolutely averse to mysticism and callous to the charms of simplicity, the earlier masters must needs appear crude and unintelligible. Giotto was appreciated merely as the creator of modern painting, and Masaccio as a great innovator. Men like Fra Angelico, Bellini, and Francia had slight fascination; and Carpaccio, the Lippis, Botticelli, Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, passed almost unnoticed. Even Michael Angelo disturbed rather than elevated. His power was acknowledged, but affected the sensibilities of his critics as turbulent boorishness. Lionardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto fared somewhat better, although even they rarely found adequate interpreters.[1]

In sculpture, the masters of the Renaissance—Pisano, Ghiberti, Donatello, Michael Angelo—were felt to be absolutely unsatisfactory. Bernini, on the other hand, he of the marvelous technique and meaningless grace, was considered a master of the first rank; long before the century had closed, however, Winckelmann's influence was to sweep him aside. In other words, the age of Rationalism found but little sculpture to admire in Italy aside from the remains of antiquity.

Naturally, a generation so biased would see nothing in mediæval architecture to attract it. The Byzantine, the Romanesque, the Gothic styles were all condemned as "Gothic,"

[1] Three works above all others express eighteenth-century taste in painting before the rise of Romanticism. These are: (1) *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy: With Remarks*, by RICHARDSON THE ELDER and THE YOUNGER (London, 1722). (I used the French edition, Amsterdam, 1728, as it was enlarged and corrected by the authors and spread the influence of Richardson on the continent.) (2) *Voyage d'Italie; ou, Recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie, par M. Cochin*, etc. (3 vols.; Paris, 1758). (3) The writings of the painter Raphael Mengs, translated and edited by Prange, 1786.

since the Goths were looked upon as the representatives of bottomless barbarity. It was believed that the ancients alone had an eye for symmetry and harmony; that after them architecture decayed, until the principles of antiquity were revived in the sixteenth century by Andrea Palladio, lauded as the greatest architectural genius since Vetruvius.[1]

These preferences and prejudices determined, through a large part of the eighteenth century, an Italy in which Rome was the Mecca of every intelligent traveler. In fact, regarded as the center of the Roman world, and later, because of Winckelmann, as the richest treasure-house of Greek antiquity, she held this sovereign position until well into the last century. Next in importance as an inspiration to lovers of art was Bologna, the workshop of the beloved Carracci, Guido Reni, Guercino. After the middle of the century, through the influence of Cochin, Venice took rank almost with Bologna, because, and only because, she had been glorified by the glowing brush of Paolo Veronese, of Titian, of Tintoretto.[2] Florence was of minor importance, yet not without interest as the home of men distinguished in their time; besides, some attractive painters, like Andrea del Sarto, had there plied their art. Moreover, the Uffizi and the Pitti, though not appreciated in the modern sense, were sought as museums containing numerous curiosities and many works of art. Among the other towns, Parma interested travelers because of Correggio's masterpieces; Vicenza, because of the palaces of Palladio; and Mantua, because of Giulio Romano. Verona had its amphitheater; Naples boasted of many antique remains. Padua, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, Ravenna, etc., offered next to nothing to the rationalistic mind, which found considerable satisfaction, on the other hand, in the "regular" streets of Turin.

[1] For further details on the art tenets of the eighteenth century, cf. C. VON KLENZE, "The Growth of Interest in the Early Italian Masters: From Tischbein to Ruskin," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV (1906), pp. 207 ff.

[2] Cf. ROCHEBLAVE, *Les Cochin* (Paris, 1893), pp. 106 ff., *et passim*.

This Italy, foreign as it seems to us today, grew to be regarded more and more as worthy of serious study. At last one of the greatest scholars of the time deemed it worth his while to collect and critically sift all the information which had been gathered. In 1768 Lalande issued a work in six volumes—enlarged to eight the very next year—which may well be called the great rationalistic encyclopædia of Italy. This work is for us of vital importance, because Volkmann's *Nachrichten von Italien*, Goethe's guide, is virtually a translation of Lalande.

It behooves us now to acquaint ourselves with those travelers whom we may term the forerunners of Lalande—on many of whom, in fact, he bases his statements. They all lack a personal interpretation and are capable merely of giving information—frequently incomplete and incorrect. Some of them date back to the seventeenth century, but deserve mention here because the frequent editions and translations of their works show their influence on the eighteenth-century public.

The first of these is Gilbert Burnet,[1] who in 1686 gave to the world the result of his trip to Italy undertaken in 1685–86. He was conspicuous for liberality, but lacked the sense of form. It is to be regretted that he did not always carry his liberal tendencies into his discussions of Italian conditions. The absence of the æsthetic sense in him prevented

[1] GILBERT BURNET, afterward bishop of Salisburg (1643-1715), the author of a *History of the Reformation* and a *History of His Own Time*, was one of the most prominent characters in the political and theological life of England. Upon the accession of James, which virtually exiled him because of his pronounced Protestant views, he went first to France, then to Italy. In Rome he soon received a hint to leave, and returned to the south of France and to Switzerland. (Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) The original edition of his *Travels* was entitled *Some Letters: Containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy . . . . Written by G. B. T. H. R. B.* (Amsterdam, 1686). Another edition appeared the same year in Rotterdam. Edition after edition followed until the middle of the eighteenth century. I used *Bishop Burnet's Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, etc.* (London, 1750). The book was translated into French (Rotterdam, 1687, 1688, 1718), and into German (Leipzig, 1688).

him from grasping the true significance of Italy. He writes smoothly, but his descriptions are entirely wanting in atmosphere, and he cites as mere curiosities many of the noblest monuments. Thus he says of the Dome of Milan: "The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick Manner." Again: "St. Mark's Church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the Building." Though Naples is to him "the best situated" city in Europe, he proves himself incapable of doing justice to its charms. On the governments he discourses not infrequently in very interesting fashion. His Anglican prejudices come to the fore in his severe attacks on the Catholic church.

More important than Burnet's work is a book of the same century, to which Lalande constantly refers and of which it has been said, with much justice, that it was the first to open up Italy to a large public.[1] Misson's *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688*, etc.,[2] is written in a glib, chatty style, and contains many illustrations. Its success was phenomenal. New editions, generally enlarged and corrected, appeared far into the eighteenth century, and it was translated into English (1695, second edition 1699), into Dutch (1704), and into German (1713). We find the book frequently quoted—often in a hostile spirit, to be sure—throughout the eighteenth century and even into the nineteenth. It was evidently the first work even remotely comparable with our modern guidebooks, since it contains a chapter "contenant des avis utiles à ceux qui voudront faire le mesme voyage." The letters—for in this form it is written—which are dated from various cities in Italy, attempt, as the author himself states, to describe everything in the country. The method is absolutely uncritical, and the information is

[1] Cf. QUÉRARD, *La France littéraire*, Vol. X (Paris, 1834), p. 164.

[2] First edition, The Hague, 1691; 2 vols. I used the third edition, The Hague, 1698.

often unreliable. Thus Misson repeats with perfect credulity the legend that the battisterio in Florence was formerly a temple of Mars, and naïvely reports: "Quelques uns disent que les factions des Guelfes et des Gibelins ont esté nommées à cause de Guelfe et de Gibel, frères, et Gentilshommes de Pistoya." In matters of art his pedantically rationalistic spirit prevents generous appreciation. With some astonishment we read that he felt compelled to regard as exaggeration the praise of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Guido, and Annibale Carracci, which he heard from the lips of a Veronese gentleman. Even some of the works of the "fameux" Palladio give him no thrill, and the larger part of Venice appears to him disagreeable. Frascati is not to be compared with Versailles, and the Forum from his description seems a commonplace spot. On the other hand, it must be granted, he expresses admiration for St. Peter's, and especially for the beauty and elegance of Naples. The limitations of this man, crowned as he was with success, show in striking manner how low was the level of average culture at the close of the seventeenth century, and how far a cry it is from him to Lalande.[1]

As Misson was felt to be unsatisfactory, writers from different countries tried to supplement him—as did Nemeitz

[1] Misson was a French Huguenot who settled in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Hence the hatred of Catholicism which frequently appears in his book and which drew down on him fierce attacks. He is the author of one of the first French descriptions of England. For biographical notes on Misson, cf. QUÉRARD, *loc. cit.*

In 1726 appeared *Nachlese besonderer Nachrichten von Italien, als ein Supplement von Misson, Burnet, Addison und andern . . . . Zum Nutzen derjenigen insonderheit, so in Italien zu reisen gedencken, aus seinem gehaltenen Diario aufrichtig mitgetheilet von Joachim Christoph Nemeitz* (Leipzig, 1726). Although intolerably dry, it was popular among German travelers—Goethe's father used it—perhaps because of the practical hints it contains as to passes, rooms, teachers of Italian, etc. Nemeitz has no appreciation whatever of art; e.g., Veronese's "Marriage of Cana" impresses him mainly because "es hat 120 Gesichter, davon keins dem andern gleich siehet." He calls the tower of Giotto "von der nemlichen Fabrique" as the Dome! But he gives considerable information on customs and governments. Bound with this book appeared, by the same author, *Inscriptionum Singularium, maximam partem novissimarum, fasciculus*, etc.—a collection of inscriptions from various Italian towns.

—or to replace him, and thus to furnish a more reliable basis of information for those who intended to travel in Italy. Of the large number of descriptions which might here be mentioned, several, because of their popularity, must be examined somewhat more closely.

The first of these is Edward Wright's *Some Observations made in Travelling through France, Italy, etc., in the years 1720, 1721, 1722* (London, 1730). Like Misson's work, which the author quotes, the book contains many illustrations. That Wright's book was known outside of England is proved by the fact that Winckelmann speaks of it in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke.*[1] Wright claims to admire Giotto's tower and some older churches of Florence, notices the Arche degli Scaligeri in Verona, which few travelers of that age ever deigned to look at, and, more surprising still, calls Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" "a most grand and amazing Performance." All these remarks, however, argue not a new ideal in art, as might be supposed, but merely the complete absence of standards, as all the other comments of this prudish and careful pedant amply prove. Curiosities fascinate him, and he completely lacks the ability to convey atmosphere.

Not more artistic, but more scholarly—at least in matters of history—is John Breval. In *Remarks on several Parts of Europe: Relating chiefly to the History, Antiquities and Geography, of those Countries through which the Author has travel'd; as France, the Low Countries, Lorrain, Alsatia, Germany, Savoy, Tirol, Switzerland, Italy and Spain* (London, 1726), he distinguishes himself by making a decided effort to inform his readers in detail concerning the history of the places he visits. He too knows Misson, whose contempt for Catholic rites he shares. This is very apparent in his account of Loretto. In 1728 he published a supple-

[1] SEUFFERT'S *Neudrucke*, Vol. XX, p. 28.

mentary work entitled: *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe, relating chiefly to their Antiquities and History. Collected on the Spot: In several Tours since 1723* (two volumes). Here he discusses Sicily and southern Italy, besides important places in the north omitted before, like Florence and Siena. There is the same absence of life as in the older work; also the same lack of atmosphere and the same show of scholarship. Breval regards it as his duty, however, to describe Ravenna more carefully than had been done before. Thus we see that, little by little, the picture of Italy is becoming more complete.[1]

Additional touches are given by Johann Georg Keyssler in his *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen, worinnen der Zustand und das Merkwürdigste dieser Länder beschrieben, und vermittelst der Natürlichen, Gelehrten und Politischen Geschichte, der Mechanik, Maler- Bau- und Bildhauerkunst, Münzen und Alterthümer, wie auch mit verschiedenen Kupfern erläutert wird* (Hanover, 1740).[2] As the title shows, Keyssler, like Misson, attempts to give an absolutely complete description of Italy. He includes in his notes discussions of the character of the people, and—what is more interesting—accounts of the condition of scholarship in the various cities he visits. We shall later frequently meet with interest in Italian scholarship on the part of eighteenth-century travelers. On the whole, this well-meaning pedant gives nothing very new, but it is noteworthy that he pays great attention to the person, the government, and the coun-

[1] John D. Breval (1680?–1738) led a spirited and interesting life. Expelled from Trinity College because of a scandal, he seems to have engaged in an adventurous career, being at one time captain under Marlborough in Flanders, writing prolifically, and getting into a quarrel with Pope, who ridiculed him in the *Dunciad*. A certain originality appears in this contemporary of Voltaire, who speaks of Dante as "the Italian Chaucer."

[2] The book was often reprinted, the last edition appearing in 1776. I used "Neuere vermehrte Auflage" (Hanover, 1751). A Dutch translation was made in 1752; an English, in 1756–57.

try of the king of Sardinia. As time went on, more and more study was bestowed on this little state, whose motto even then was *Sempre avanti!* Keyssler's long chapter on Venice, her government, her police, the manners and amusements of her people, furnishes additional proof of the intense curiosity aroused by the merchant republic in travelers of the first half of the eighteenth century.[1]

A method very similar to that of Keyssler appears in *Travels through Holland, Germany, Sicily, but especially Italy, by the late Monsieur de Blainville, in 3 vols., translated from the author's manuscript, never before published: Interspersed with various remarks on Montfaucon, Spon, Mabillon, Misson, Bishop Burnet, Mr. Addison and other eminent Authors* (London, 1757). Although Blainville traveled as early as 1707, his manuscript, which was in French, was not published till 1757, and then in English translation, by Turnbull, Guthrie, Lockman, and Soyer. As a diplomatist, Blainville was interested in the governments of the various states. Like Misson, he was a Huguenot refugee in England, and hence takes occasion to sneer at the absurdities of Catholic rites. He seems to have been a person of considerable learning; his book certainly has an air of soundness and reliability, and Misson's inexactnesses challenge his criticism. Blainville is entirely lacking in artistic sense, as appears, for instance, in his calling the splendid buildings on the Capitol at Rome "pretended palaces," and in his being displeased because the nudities in Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" "are without any the least palliation," and because Charon is absurd in a Christian picture. In this great desert of ennui, however, there occurs an occasional oasis. Thus he actually shows himself capable

[1] Critical readers were fully aware of Keyssler's lack of insight in matters of art. Thus Winckelmann says that his judgments in this field "sind . . . . nicht einmal in Betrachtung zu ziehen" (introduction to "Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums," *Werke*, ed. MEYER & SCHULZE, Vol. III [Dresden, 1809], p. vi).

of conveying something like atmosphere in his description of the Forum. Scarcely anything appears there, he tells us, "but Columns half devoured by Time, Temples and other like Buildings trembling and tottering for old Age." This book, so unimportant to us, was at the time taken very seriously. It was frequently quoted, and in 1764 was "in das deutsche übersetzet, erläutert, und hin und wieder mit Anmerkungen versehen, von Johann Tobias Köhler, Professor zu Göttingen."

The politics, the history, the commerce, and the industries of Italy, and the character of her people, rather than her art, form the contents of *Nouveaux Mémoires ou Observations sur l'Italie et les Italiens par deux Gentilshommes Suédois*, ... by P. J. Grosley (London [Paris], 1764). This book soon attained a popularity almost equal to that of Misson.[1] A certain piquancy is given it by the author's personal reminiscences of some of the most conspicuous Italians, like the poet Goldoni. Toward the end of the book Grosley introduces a chapter on French and Italian music, thus reflecting an interest which was rising to intensity in the generation of Gluck.[2] One of the most significant features of these notes lies in the interest which the author betrays in the lower classes, such as the gondoliers, whose lives, habits, and appearance receive a somewhat detailed consideration,

[1] A second edition appeared in London in 1771, called *Observations sur l'Italie . . . . données en 1764 sous le nom de deux Gentilshommes Suédois.* In 1774 appeared a duplicate of the edition of 1770, with a new title-page. In 1769 the book was translated into English by T. NUGENT.

[2] Perhaps the first to appreciate Italian music as an important element in the culture to be derived from a journey to Italy was the poet Thomas Gray. He was in Italy from 1739 to 1741, and it was he who is supposed to have introduced to the English public Pergolese, at that time entirely unknown outside of Tuscany. Gray also formed a valuable collection of manuscript music, consisting of nine large volumes, during his stay in Italy (cf. GOSSE, *Gray* [London, 1882], p. 36). In 1772 a journey to Italy and several other countries was undertaken by Dr. Burney for the express purpose of studying "the state of music" in those countries. Not long after, entire novels, like HEINSE'S *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, were devoted to that theme. Nor could a subject which was attracting so much attention altogether escape the catholic-minded Goethe.

like that bestowed later by Goethe, in a maturer spirit, upon those of the lazzaroni.

Dry and pedantic as these treatises must seem to us, they reflect a growing desire to convey to a large public a detailed knowledge of Italy—a desire which forms a part of the powerful intellectual yearning of the age of Voltaire and Diderot. For, as the sixteenth century had physically discovered new worlds in response to a longing for a wider horizon, so the eighteenth, in obedience to a kindred but more subtle impulse, undertook in systematic fashion to conquer the details. The presentations of Italy discussed above, however inartistic, furnished their readers with a considerable mass of information—often valuable information—over which Montaigne and Zeiller had had no control.[1]

[1] It may not be amiss here to say a few words of some additional travels in Italy which, though unimportant in themselves and containing few new features, help to complete the picture. Some of them were even frequently quoted at their time. The first of these is a smoothly written *Voyage of Italy*, by the Catholic priest LASSALS (London, 1670). It was several times reprinted, and was translated into French in 1671 and 1682. Like almost all who follow, Lassals lacks knowledge of art, but gives an inclusive though uncritical description of objects of interest in Italy. In 1673 JOHN RAY published *Observations made in a Journey through Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France, with a Catalogue of Plants not Natives of England* (2d ed., 1738), translated into Latin in 1673. The trip was undertaken by the distinguished "Father of Natural History," in company with his friend Willoughby, in pursuance of an admirable attempt to make a systematic description of the whole organic world. Locke's characterization of these "travels," as "a systematic description of everything that the author saw and his enlargement of everything that was curious and rare," may be regarded as virtually final (cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). The book is scholarly but totally lacks atmosphere. How great a contrast between this cataloguing scientist and Goethe! WILLIAM BROMLEY'S *Remarks in the Grande Tour of France and Italy* (London, 1692; reprinted 1693) became of great significance in the author's life, as certain passages were interpreted by his enemies as showing Catholic bias and as he was therefore defeated in his candidacy for the speakership in the House of Commons in 1705. Later (1713) he became secretary of state (cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). In 1702 he published also *Several Years Travels through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany*, etc. Neither book is of moment. He frequently refers to Lassals; he is interested in inscriptions, according to the fashion of his time; four or five days suffice him to see Florence. *Les Délices le l'Italie*, etc., by ROGISSART ET H(AVARD) (Amsterdam, 1700), a pleasant but very unreliable book, became extraordinarily popular, appeared in many editions, and was translated into German. The *Voyages du P. Labat de l'Ordre des FF. Prêcheurs, en Espagne et en Italie* (Paris, 1735) is marked by garrulity and shallowness. This ecclesiastic, noted for his travels in America, explains the eruption of Aetna in 1693 as caused by the unwillingness of St. Agatha to protect so sinful a populace. He often refers to works of art with evident ignorance and indifference. The book may claim a certain value

Fortunately, there appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century at least two "travels" which have genuine literary value and which contrast refreshingly with those mentioned above, so wofully lacking in individuality. For this reason they deserve to be lifted somewhat out of context and to be treated by themselves, though both represent that rationalistic *Weltanschauung* and that preference for Roman antiquity which are the characteristic marks of their age. The first of these accounts is by no less a person than Joseph Addison, the author of *Cato* and of *Coins and Medals*. His *Remarks on several parts of Italy etc. in the years 1701, 1702, 1703* appeared in London in 1705.[1] To Addison, Italy

for the notes on the papal government and on the customs of Italy. Interest in the customs and governments is also manifested in the *Voyage de France, d'Espagne, de Portugal, d'Italie, par M. S. . . . . du 22. avril 1720, au 6. février 1730* (Paris, 1770). Moreover, the book reflects in consistent fashion the art views of the eighteenth century. Pronounced love for the ancients does not interfere with ardent admiration for Bernini. The Cathedral of Pisa "est une structure à peu-près semblable à celle de Sienne" (!). The churches in Florence "sont capables de fixer pour quelques momens l'attention d'un Voyageur curieux, et de l'occuper agréablement." In 1740 Goethe's father, JOHANN CASPAR GOETHE, went to Italy and recorded his impressions in Italian. The manuscript of about 900 pages, in beautiful handwriting, entitled *Viaggio per l'Italia fatto nel anno MDCCXL. . . . . descritto da J. C. G.*, is now to be found in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar. He lacks originality. In Venice he is offended by the corruption; in Rome and elsewhere he is much impressed with antiquity. He is wanting in the sense for landscape, and his dry and pedantic style ("rimasi stupefatto!", his exclamation at the sight of St. Peter's, is as brilliant a burst of eloquence as he seems capable of achieving) contrasts oddly with the brilliancy of his famous son's *Italienische Reise* (cf. P. VON BOJANOWSKI, *Johann Caspar Goethe in Venedig* [Weimar, 1899]). Important only because it contains an early discussion of southern Italy is RICHARD POCOCKE'S *A Description of the East, and some other Countries* (London, 1743–45). His method may be seen in his remark that in Perugia there is a fine old Gothic gate "in the rustic style." More interesting, because better written, are the *Letters from Italy, in the years 1754–55, by the Right Honourable John Earl of Corke and Orrery. Published from the originals with explanatory notes by John Duncombe* (London, 1773). His knowledge of art is characterized by his saying of the Dome of Pisa that it is "distgustful to the eye upon the first entrance into it." But he shows interest in the governments, history, and customs of the country. The *Voyage d'Italie et d'Hollande par M. l'Abbé Coyer* (Paris, 1775; the trip was taken in 1763–64) written in a pleasing style, was very popular, and was translated into German in 1776. The author is interested in customs and governments, and, like all Frenchmen of his time, depends on Cochin for his opinions on art. Equally dependent on the great critic are *The Letters from Italy by an Englishwoman* (MRS. MILLER, London, 1776). She deserves attention, however, for her protest against the regularity of French gardens, wherever she meets with them in Italy.

[1] It was often reprinted, editions appearing as late as 1767. It was translated into French (Utrecht, 1722), and appeared in Paris as the fourth volume of

was the home of Latin poets and prose-writers, and virtually little else. His is the first book to reflect such exclusive interest in Roman antiquity. Every spot is to him redolent of the memory of some great Latin writer. A storm on the lake of Garda reminds him of a line in Vergil; acrobats in Venice recall a passage of Claudian. Ravenna's importance in the history of art does not occur to him, but he quotes Martial on the location of the town. The "impostures" of Loretto fill him with disdain, but interest him as arising from "the veneration that the old Romans paid to the Cottage of Romulus." Of course, every step of the way between Rome and Naples is sacred because of the associations with Horace, Lucan, and Silius Italicus. Vergil occurs to his mind on viewing Naples. More far-fetched, but all the more characteristic, is the manner in which he drags in Vetruvius when describing the Bay of Naples: "Naples . . . . has the pleasantest Situation in the World, tho', by reason of its Western Mountains, it wants an Advantage Vetruvius would have to the Front of his Palace, of seeing the Setting Sun." The government he notes because of its difference from that described by Statius, and all the environs, including Capri, merely serve as an opportunity to revel in Roman reminiscences. In Rome the Christian antiquities "are so embroil'd with Fable and Legend, that one receives but little Satisfaction from searching into them;" while Roman antiquities afford "a great deal of Pleasure to such as have met with them before in Ancient Authors." In Florence he visits the Uffizi, but is especially attracted there by the antiquities—for once including the Greek antiquities. His notes on Venice show a very meager understanding of the fair city of the sea, while those on Milan, Siena, and Pisa reveal the current indifference to the charms of mediævalism.

MISSON'S travels (!) the same year. Addison is constantly quoted by travelers in the eighteenth century.

As a statesman Addison had an eye for the political condition of Italy and is keenly interested in the government of Venice, Rome, Lucca, and San Marino. The author of *Coins and Medals* rarely fails to introduce a few words on coins, etc., when opportunity offers. His happy touches in describing beautiful spots in nature (for instance, in the Apennines, near Albano, in the Alps) betray sensitiveness in the appreciation of landscape remarkable for his time. Addison's notes have the further distinction of being written in a simple, clear, altogether delightful style.[1]

Far more brilliant and more important as literature, and animated by the same profound interest in Roman antiquity, are the *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, by Charles de Brosses.[2] For the first time we here come upon a description of Italy that reflects a brilliant personality and is conspicuous for scintillating wit. With these qualities de Brosses combines the "gaieté gauloise," which, to be sure, often lapses into frivolity. Stendhal most happily calls him "le Voltaire des voyageurs en Italie," and

[1] MONSIEUR LE CLERC'S *Observations upon Mr. Addison's Travels through Italy etc. . . . . Done from the French by Mr. Theobald* (London, 1715; I am not acquainted with the French original), amount to nothing but a short abstract of Addison's book. Suggestive remarks on ADDISON'S *Travels* will be found in Macaulay's essay on this master of English prose.

[2] Charles de Brosses (1709–77) was a personality of considerable note in the eighteenth century. He was prominent in the political and literary life of his time, becoming *Premier Président à mortier du Parlement de Dijon* (1741), and publishing works, considered important in their day, on geology, geography, ethnology, and philology. Noteworthy for us are *Lettres sur l'état actuel de la ville souterraine d'Herculée . . . .* (1750), which seem to have contributed to centering general attention upon the remains of that city. During the famous quarrel between him and Voltaire—his intellectual guide and model—these two wits, so closely akin in temperament, showered each other with notes bristling with brilliant invective. The character of his classical predilection becomes apparent from the fact that the trip to Italy which forms the basis of his *Lettres* was undertaken (1739) for the express purpose of collecting material for a complete critical edition of Sallust. The crowning effort of his classical studies is his *Histoire de la république romaine . . . .* (1777). The *Lettres . . . . d'Italie* were published after his death. The best edition is the one by R. COLOMB, entitled *Le président de Brosses en Italie* (2 vols., Paris, 1858). On de Brosses cf. Colomb, introduction to the edition mentioned above; furthermore, the article in the *Biographie universelle;* also the interesting essay by STE. BEUVE in the *Causeries du Lundi*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

indeed with him we seem to see the country through the eyes of the philosopher of Ferney. Consequently, whatever is directly or indirectly associated with the Middle Ages or the Early Renaissance, or whatever smacks of religion or mysticism, challenges his satirical wit. He frankly says: "Je ne sais si je me trompe; mais qui dit gothique, dit presque infailliblement un mauvais ouvrage"—a remark (Vol. I, p. 86) suggested to him by the Certosa of Pavia! Consistently with such a view, he exclaims of the Ducal Palace in Venice: "C'est un vilain monsieur, s'il en fut jamais, massif, sombre et gothique, du plus méchant goût" (I, 194). He wittily continues: "le doge est logé dans ce palais; c'est de tous les prisonniers de l'État le plus mal gîté, à mon gré; car les prisons ordinaires, qui sont tout près du palais, sont un bâtiment qui est tout-à-fait élégant et agréable" (I, 195). St. Mark's appears "une église à la grecque, basse, impénétrable à la lumière, d'un goût misérable, tant en dedans qu'en dehors" (*ibid.*). The irregularity of the floor elicits the gay remark: "Bref, c'est sans contredit le premier endroit du monde pour jouer de la toupie" (I, 197). The highest form of praise he can bestow on the Queen of the Adriatic is: "En un mot, cette ville-ci est si singulière par sa disposition, ses façons, ses manières de vivre à faire crever de rire" (I, 169). He appreciates mainly the elegance and gaiety of the city. He remains callous to the virile beauty of mediæval and Early Renaissance Florence. To begin with, Florentine painting disappoints him. The "très méchants ouvrages" of Cimabue, Giotto, Gaddi, Lippi, etc., are interesting only as showing how "le talent s'est développé et perfectionné peu-à-peu" (I, 270). Even to him the battisterio was originally a temple of Mars. In this connection his characteristic lack of reverence comes to the surface. Of Michael Angelo's famous remark, that the doors by Ghiberti were worthy of being the gates of Para-

dise, he says: "Ce n'est pas la seule sottise qu'on lui fasse dire" (I, 278).

The worldliness of the age finds expression in these pages. De Brosses, who could see nothing to admire in St. Mark's, calls the Gesù Church in Rome "tout-à-fait belle, tant au dedans qu'au dehors" (II, 121). The same man who had ridiculed Ghiberti, to whom the works of Giotto and Cimabue are daubs and blotches, who regards Michael Angelo as "un mauvais, mais un terrible dessinateur" (II, 192), considers Giulio Romano's "Battle of Maxentius" "le premier tableau de la première classe des grands ouvrages" (II, 183 f.), is moved to raptures by Guido Reni's "Aurora" (II, 330), and to an almost equal degree by the Pompadour elegance of Guercino's rendering of sacred subjects (II, 276). It follows logically that our traveler should prefer Bologna to Florence, and should say of Turin: "Turin me paraît la plus jolie ville de l'Italie; et à ce que je crois, de l'Europe, par l'alignement de ses rues, la régularité de ses bâtiments et la beauté de ses places" (II, 489).

In Rome he is uplifted especially by the remains of Roman antiquity. This man, whose frivolity so often seems out of place, is filled with genuine veneration for the "simplicité et grandeur" which characterized the ancient rulers of the world. The Pantheon (the changing of which into a Christian church he calls a "meurtre," II, 61), the Temple of Vesta, the great columns in Rome, all conjure up before him a powerful and inspiring civilization. Hence the remark that everything is "si peu de chose," compared with Rome.

Additional value is given these letters by the sprightly and often illuminating talk on manners, customs, and society in Italy, notably in Rome. As a member of the French aristocracy, de Brosses had access to the highest circles in the capital of the Pope and elsewhere. He was presented to Clement XII, who at the time was on his death-bed

(II, 81 ff.); to Cardinal Lambertini, afterward Pope Benedict XIV (II, 92, *passim*); to Cardinal Passionei, of Winckelmann fame (II, 87, *passim*); to the "Pretender" (II, 94 ff.); and to others. Of the conclave which took place after Clement's death he gives a detailed and interesting account, enhanced by Voltairean touches.[1]

We have now reached the time when the interest in Italy was rapidly rising to a very high level; when intellectually distinguished men deemed it worth their while to give to the world descriptions which should in every respect satisfy the ideals of the rationalistic culture of the day. Two books embodying this spirit were undertaken almost simultaneously by two Frenchmen working independently of each other, the abbé Richard and the astronomer Lalande. The body of information on which they built may be said in large measure to have been derived from the descriptions of Italy so far discussed. This information they critically sifted and complemented from their own observation. Hence we were justified (p. 12) in designating most of the travelers preceding them as their forerunners. Both, rationalistic to the core, lacked the sense for the picturesque, but were animated by a desire thoroughly to prepare their readers for a journey which, they felt, should be far more than a mere pleasure-trip. Both were free from the puerilities of their predecessors and were eminently well prepared for their task. Of the two, Richard's book is more readable, Lalande's more scholarly and complete. Both remained standard works for many years.

[1] The same conclave is repeatedly referred to in the letters of another distinguished classicist of the eighteenth century—the poet Thomas Gray. He traveled in Italy in the company of Sir Horace Walpole (1739-41), and spent much time in Florence at the residence of Horace Mann. An appreciation of landscape far more remarkable than even that of Addison, and interest in all that reminded him of classical traditions (especially Roman), and in the masters of the High Renaissance and the Bolognese, are apparent in these not especially noteworthy letters. (Cf. *Works of Thomas Gray*, edited by EDMUND GOSSE [New York, 1890], Vol. II, pp. 40 ff.; also the biography, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.)

L'Abbé Richard's *Description historique et critique de l'Italie ou, Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat actuel de son Gouvernement, des Sciences, des Arts, du Commerce, de la Population et de l'Histoire Naturelle* (Dijon et Paris, 1766),[1] carries out what the title promises. It is actually a critical discussion of Italy based on the knowledge available. Richard devotes himself essentially to the human phenomena and is comparatively indifferent to the physical aspects of the peninsula, which, we shall see, deeply interest Lalande. We can claim no great originality for Richard. In matters of art he entirely depends on Cochin; thus he calls the Dome of Milan, almost in Cochin's words, "le comble de la folie en architecture gothique" (Vol. I, pp. 223, 224), and expresses the most profound veneration for the Bolognese masters. But his work contributed greatly toward correcting the picture of the country which some of his predecessors had distorted. Richard rarely lapses into such flagrantly incorrect and absurd statements as mar the pages of Misson and Breval. He neither invents ridiculous etymologies to explain the origin of cities, nor does he repeat silly legends as history; though even he is guilty of speaking of "Meinss, peintre Saxon" (V, 449). His pen is guided by true love for the country he describes, hence his detailed account of the governments and customs is free from all petty cavil. At the beginning of the third volume he gives a "Chronologie des peintres en Italie," valuable as evidence of the current knowledge of Italian art. Here and there this rationalist even appears faintly touched by a poetical spirit such as we find in later treatises on Italy. This manifests itself in some of his descriptions of landscape, and in a certain melancholy that tinges his discussion of the Campo Vaccino and its former

[1] A second edition appeared in Paris in 1769 (again in six volumes); a third in Paris in 1770. D'Ancona speaks of an English translation (London, 1781, and Florence, 1784). I know nothing of these. The fact that not more editions appeared is evidence that Richard was crowded out by Lalande.

glories. Richard commands our respect for the care and fairness with which he collected and sifted his material.

Lalande called his book *Voyage d'un François en Italie, fait dans ces Années 1765 et 1766: Contenant l'Histoire et les Anecdotes les plus singulières de l'Italie, et sa Description: les Mœurs, les Usages, le Gouvernement, le Commerce, la Littérature, les Arts, l'Histoire Naturelle et les Antiquités*, etc., etc. (Paris et Venise, 1769; eight volumes).[1] It marks an advance upon Richard's work in that it is more exact, more complete, and especially because it gives much valuable information on the geology, mineralogy, zoölogy, etc., of the country. At the same time, Lalande takes great care to set forth all the knowledge available on the art, history, government, and customs of every city, to which he adds accounts of the theaters. His scholarly calling leads him to describe the condition of scholarship in the chief cities, and—last but not least—to discuss the libraries.[2] Lalande

[1] I used "Nouvelle édition corrigée et considérablement augmentée par un savant très-distingué" (J. E. BERTRAND; Yverdon, 1769; six volumes). D'Ancona, following Boucher de la Richarderie, mentions an edition of 1768, of which, however, I can find no trace. Perhaps the fact that two editions of Lalande appeared in 1769 may have misled Boucher de la Richarderie, whose entire statement on Lalande is inexact.

[2] The interest in scholarship and libraries was a characteristically rationalistic trait, an organic part of the prevalent desire for intellectual information. Lessing, a far greater scholar and bibliophile than even Lalande, was in Italy ten years later, and devoted a large share of his attention to the investigation of scholarship and libraries. As early as 1768, immediately after Winckelmann's death, he intended going to Rome in the footsteps of the great antiquarian. The trip, however, was delayed until 1775, and even then Lessing could not travel, as he had hoped, free and untrammeled, but had to go in the suite of an immature prince and a half-illiterate officer. He visited all the large cities and some of the smaller ones, but derived very little inspiration even from Venice and Rome. His notes on the literature, the scholarship, and the libraries of Italy are, however, of considerable importance. Some of his information he derived from *Efemeridi letterarie di Roma*, which began to appear weekly in Rome in 1772. (Cf. MUNCKER, "Eine Hauptquelle für Lessings Tagebuch seiner italienischen Reise," *Germanistische Abhandlungen, Hermann Paul dargebracht* [Strassburg, 1902], pp. 181 ff.) Italy meant more in Lessing's intellectual life than one might believe from the meager notes of his *Tagebuch*. (Cf. E. MADDELENA, "Lessing e l'Italia," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* [Roma, 1904], pp. 183 ff.) Lessing's guidebook was Volkmann, of whom presently. (For an account of the trip cf. ERICH SCHMIDT, *Lessing*, 2d ed. [Berlin, 1899], Vol. I, pp. 679 ff., and Vol II, p. 149.)

distances Richard also by his interest—inadequate for us, to be sure—in Italian literature. Here and there an appreciation of Italy's past, surprising in a rationalist, comes to the surface. Thus to him Theodoric the Ostrogoth, whom he discusses in connection with Ravenna, is a "prince dans qui l'on ne vit rien de barbare que le nom"—a view which the author of the *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit* would hardly have indorsed. His desire for fairness causes him to avoid those uncritical attacks on Italian institutions, like the cicisbeismo, which appear in most of the works of his predecessors. Like Richard, he is not blind to the charms of landscape. The Alps are to him not "terrible," "horrid," "grösslich," as they were to his French, English, and German contemporaries; on the contrary, he says: "tout y annonce la variété et le mouvement de la nature, qui enfante dans les montagnes, au milieu de l'agitation et des obstacles, ses productions les plus compliquées et ses merveilles les plus singulières. Rien ne prête plus aux réflections du Philosophe que ces lieux solitaires, où il peut méditer sur ce qu'il voit, sans distraction et sans trouble, dans le silence de la nature" (I, 2).

But, with all his laudable zeal, Lalande adds nothing new to the artistic interpretation of Italy. His taste is absolutely dependent on de Brosses, and especially on Cochin.[1] The glories of Gothic architecture escape him; nor, of course, is he capable of understanding the character of cities like Perugia or Siena, while Turin, because of its regular streets, is the most beautiful city in Italy. Distinguished savant though he was, he does not altogether avoid the philistinism which so often mars the purely rationalistic culture. In Bologna it offends him to find on the canvases of even superior painters, like the Bolognese, groups of saints "qui n'ont jamais pu se voir ni se connoître" (II, 72).

[1] He tells us also that he used the manuscript of the abbé Gougenot. Professor Rocheblave, of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, kindly informs me that this manuscript is lost.

Closely allied to this flaw in him is a certain note of jingoism. He cannot help regarding French parks, like those of Versailles and St. Cloud, as superior to those at Tivoli and Frascati. He even goes to the length of claiming that in art "il y a bien des personnes même, qui croient que l'école françoise peut tenir contre les écoles anciennes" (V, 76).[1]

Worst of all, this Parisian maintains that Rome, in spite of its attractions, is no better than a provincial French town. The life there he finds essentially monotonous. In other words, to Lalande the sojourn in Rome was merely an interesting experience which he would not have cared to prolong; to Goethe, Rome became the city of the soul.

In conclusion, we may dismiss this significant work as the most important fund of information on Italy—complete, scholarly, though dry—which Rationalism was capable of producing.[2]

Precisely because Richard and Lalande represented the high-water mark of Rationalism in the description of Italy, it was a fortunate idea for J. J. Volkmann to furnish the German public with a telescoped translation of these two books.[3] This he called *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten*

[1] Lalande was not the only one whose patriotic enthusiasm for French painting carried him beyond the bounds of sound criticism. J. B. DE BOYER, Marquis d'Argent, devotes the thirteenth volume of his *Histoire de l'Esprit humain* (Berlin, 1768) to a discussion of the great painters of the world with the express purpose of showing that the French painters were being underrated.

[2] Lalande (1732-1807) was a famous astronomer and published a large number of works in his field. The *Voyage* was several times reprinted with valuable corrections and additions. The first edition appeared without the author's name; the last (Geneva, 1790) takes into account Winckelmann's discoveries. We may add here that in an introductory chapter Lalande critically discusses many of his predecessors. He attacks Misson; Burnet he calls interesting but antiquated; he has heard of Wright's reputation among the English, also of Blainville; he read Grosley with profit, and used the manuscript of de Brosses's letters. Richard's book he refrained from studying in order to remain uninfluenced. In the preface to the last edition of his book Lalande discusses Richard more fully. (On Lalande cf. *Biographie universelle.*)

[3] Dr. J. J. Volkmann (1732-1803) was a man of culture who traveled extensively. In 1758 he met Mengs and Winckelmann in Rome, and for some time carried on a correspondence with the latter. His own works on art and his translations from

von Italien, welche eine genaue Beschreibung dieses Landes, der Sitten und Gebräuche, der Regierungsform, Handlung, Oekonomie, des Zustandes der Wissenschaften, und insonderheit der Werke der Kunst nebst einer Beurtheilung derselben enthalten: Aus den neuesten französischen und englischen Reisebeschreibungen und aus eignen Anmerkungen zusammengetragen (Leipzig, 1770–71; 3 vols.). Lalande, as we have seen, could not be called sprightly reading, but Volkmann is nearly as pedantic, as heavy, and as dull as Zeiller. In his introduction he discusses his predecessors, reminiscences of whom occasionally appear in his notes, placing Keyssler next in importance to Lalande. In spite of Volkmann's claim to a certain originality, the book is little more than an abbreviated translation of Lalande—a fact of considerable importance for us, as Volkmann was Goethe's guide. Like Lalande, Volkmann starts his trip from Savoy, a proceeding which for a German guidebook is patently absurd. A few chapters (as, for instance, the one on Turin and the introduction to the description of Rome) are taken bodily from Richard. Here and there Volkmann introduces the opinions of Winckelmann (as in the discussions of the Niobe group and the Torso Farnese). Remarks on painting scattered through the volumes are merely translations of Cochin copied from Lalande. Goethe little knew

foreign languages were regarded as valuable at the time they appeared. He also published descriptions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, of Holland, Spain, and France. His work on Italy was published in 1770 and in 1778. The second edition takes into account some of the publications on Italy which had appeared since the first, such as Dr. Burney's book on Italian music (1772). For details cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie.*

In 1777–82 appeared in Leipzig *Zusätze zu den neuesten Reisebeschreibungen von Italien nach der in Herrn Dr. J. J. Volkmanns historisch-kritischen Nachrichten angenommenen Ordnung zusammengetragen und als Anmerkungen zu diesem Werke, sammt neuen Nachrichten von Sardinien, Malta, Sicilien und Grossgriechenland herausgegeben von Joh. Bernoulli.* This appeared in three volumes, the first two following Volkmann almost page for page, noting the changes which had taken place in Italy since 1777 and adding mention of some of the new literature on the country, besides some rather unimportant remarks by the author. The third volume deals with Sicily. Bernoulli, who was in Italy in 1775, met Lessing in Florence.

that in attacking Volkmann's views he was leveling his criticism at the greatest art critic of the age of Mengs.[1]

Since Goethe traveled in Italy under the guidance of Volkmann, it may not be amiss once more to conjure up the Italy of Lalande which was thus presented to him. This Italy contained a number of cities in which happened a certain number of interesting events, in which dwelled a certain number of inhabitants, governed according to certain interesting political principles. Many paintings, statues, and public buildings gave additional intellectual importance to these cities. The surrounding country, which even aesthetically was not without charm, was characterized by a fauna

[1] Other guidebooks to Italy, like our modern Baedekers, became the fashion in the eighteenth century. We saw that even Lalande aimed at giving practical help to travelers. A very popular guide for English readers was NUGENT, *The Grand Tour; or a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France* (2d ed., corrected and improved, London, 1756; 3d ed., 1778). Various trips into Italy and in Italy are described. Every sort of useful information on the prices of carriages, on Italian money, the governments of various states, libraries, and "comedies" is furnished. Of course, we find here the same opinions and methods as in the books discussed above.

LOUIS DUTENS published in Paris in 1771 *Itinéraire des routes les plus fréquentées; ou, Journal de plusieurs voyages aux principales villes de l'Europe, depuis 1768 jusqu'en 1771.* This passed through several editions, and was translated into English (London, 1782), with the title *Journal of Travels made through the principal Cities of Europe; wherein the time employed in going from post to post is marked in hours and minutes; the distance in English miles . . . . the produce of the different countries . . . . and remarkable curiosities . . . .* (I know only the English translation). For German travelers appeared *Sammlung der besten und neuesten Reisebeschreibungen in einem ausführlichen Auszuge*, Vols. IV and V dealing with Italy (Berlin, 1767). An interesting symptom of the desire to popularize the knowledge of Italy current at the time is the *Dictionnaire historique et géographique portatif de l'Italie: Contenant une description des Royaumes, des Républiques, des Etats, des Provinces, des Villes, et des lieux principaux de cette Contrée, avec des Observations sur le Commerce de l'Italie, sur le Génie, les Mœurs et l'Industrie de ses Habitans, sur la Musique, la Peinture, l'Architecture, sur les choses les plus remarquables, soit de la Nature, soit de l'Art; Ensemble l'Histoire des Rois, des Papes, des Grands Hommes, des Ecrivains et des Artistes célèbres, des Guerriers illustres, et une exposition des Lois principales, des Usages singuliers et du Caractère des Italiens* (2 vols.; Paris, 1775). The information given is based on the best authors, especially Lalande. In this connection may also be mentioned BÜSCHING, *Erdbeschreibung* (Hamburg, 1754 ff.; I used the English translation, *A new System of Geography . . . .* London, 1762). In the third volume of the translation is found a description of Italy and its islands. This work purports to give, not merely the geographical facts, but also the history and the constitutions of the different principalities of the peninsula. Some of the information is based on previous accounts, like Keyssler's. It was translated into Italian by Jagemann, librarian of the duchess Amalia in Weimar. While these last-mentioned works were

and a flora the acquaintance with which was a valuable addition to the traveler's stock of information. To us moderns this picture is unsatisfactory, because it implies indifference to the Italy of the Middle Ages and of the Early Renaissance. Entire cities, like Siena, Pisa, Perugia, Assisi, Padua, Orvieto, and dozens of smaller places in the Veneto, Umbria, and Tuscany, remained meaningless. Even Florence, Venice, Milan, and Rome, of which there was indeed much talk, revealed but a fraction of their intrinsic charm to the rationalistic mind. St. Mark's; the Ducal Palace; San Giorgio degli Schiavoni with Carpaccio's frescoes; S. Zaccaria with its Bellini; the canals, the balconies, the mysterious nooks and corners; Santa Maria Novella; the Tower of Giotto; the

meant for the general public, others were intended to appeal merely to scholars. This is true particularly of DE MONFAUCON'S *Diarium Italicum: Sive Monumentorum veterum, Bibliothecarum, Musaeorum, etc. Notitiae singulares in Itinere Italico collectae* (Parisiis, 1702). This well-known work found little favor with Winckelmann, who maintained that Monfaucon judged "mit fremden Augen und nach Kupfern und Zeichnungen" (*Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, ed. EISELEIN, "Vorrede"). Nevertheless, it was translated into English in 1712, the second edition of this translation appearing in 1725.

The Italians themselves made great efforts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to spread a knowledge of their country. Scores of works appeared on Italy, in some cases very elegant in appearance and adorned with expensive plates, the purpose of which was to familiarize the world with the treasures of various Italian cities. The majority of these refer to Rome. Following are a few which are frequently quoted, and which I myself have had an opportunity to examine; for a completer list cf. LALANDE, and also ADLER, *Ausführliche Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (Altona, 1781):

F. NARDINI. *Roma antica* (Rome, 1666; I know only the third edition, "Con note ed osservazioni storico-critiche," Rome, 1771); the text shows considerable erudition; there are plans, but no illustrations. *Il Mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma . . . . di Giovanni Pietro Rossini* (Rome, 1693; I know only the sixth edition, 1741; another edition appeared as late as 1789); this is a sort of guide, giving lists of pictures, etc. *Descrizione di Roma antica formata nuovamente con le auttorità di . . . . O. Panvinio . . . .* (Rome, 1707). *Descrizione di Roma moderna con le auttorità del Card. C. Baronio . . . .* (Rome, 1707; new editions followed); each volume contains about 700 pages and is filled with illustrations. CARLO FONTANA, *L'Anfiteatro Flavio, descritto e delineato* (The Hague, 1725); this contains many plates. MICHEL ANGE DE LA CHAUSSE, *Romanum Museum, sive thesaurus eruditae antiquitatis* (Rome, 1742 ff.); the first volume contains plates after the busts of philosophers, poets, orators, etc.; the second after busts of emperors and empresses; the third, after statues of the gods; the fourth, "Marmora anaglypha." *Roma Antica e Moderna o sia Nuova Descrizione di tutti gl' Edificj Antichi, e Moderni, tanto Sagri, quanto Profani della città di Roma* (3 vols.; Rome, 1750); plates and illustrations; the text gives a dry statement of the sights of Rome; in a description of the Sistine

Giottos in Santa Croce; the Monastery of S. Marco with its Fra Angelicos; the Palazzo Vecchio with its tower of airy strength; the Dome of Milan and St. Ambrogio; the Catacombs of Rome; Sant' Agnese fuori le Mura; the Sistine Chapel roof and walls; the Chapel of Nicholas V with its Fra Angelicos; etc., etc.—all these generally only irritated, when they did not completely escape notice. Even antiquity, in spite of a great show of interest, afforded merely an intellectual, not an artistic, stimulus. The remnants of Roman civilization brought one in contact with a nation of great rulers and with places sacred because of their association with the Latin poets. Italy had not yet yielded that subtle message, implied in the Hellenic *Weltanschauung*, which

Chapel the paintings of the side walls are mentioned but not commented on. Artistically by far the most important and famous illustrations of Rome are, of course, those done by the master-hand of GIAMBATTISTA PIRANESI. (For a fine characterization of these works cf. JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, 2d ed., Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.). Among his numerous plates may be mentioned: *Le Antichità Romane* (4 vols.; Rome, 1756); *De Romanorum Magnificentia et Architectura* (Rome, 1760); *Antichità d' Albano e di Castel-Gandolfo* (Rome, 1764). It is interesting to note that a German, WEINLIG, in 1782 published *Briefe über Rom, nach Anleitung der davon vorhandenen Prospecte von Piranesi.* Besides PIRANESI's the following are works of great importance: VENUTI, *Accurata e succinta descrizione topographica delle Antichità di Roma* (2 vols.; Rome, 1763; I know only the second edition, Rome, 1803); this work contains erudite discussion of antique monuments in Rome; VENUTI, *Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma moderna* (2 vols.; Rome, 1766): a very carefully detailed description of modern buildings in Rome.

Among the books referring to Venice I will mention only the *Forestiero illuminato intorno le cose più rare e curiose antiche e moderne della città di Venetia e delle isole circonvicine* (Venice, 1784); many illustrations. This is a guidebook stating the history of each building and commenting on its contents.

Florence, though less admired, was no less proud of her past than Rome. Among the books put out by the Florentines I will mention the following: (GORI) *Museum Florentinum, exhibens insigniora vetustatis monumenta quae Florentiae sunt* (3 vols.; Florence, 1731-33; many plates dealing with antiques, statues, columns, etc., in Florence); JACOPO CALIERI, *Ristretto delle cose più notabili della città di Firenze.* (I know only the "sesta impressione," Florence, 1757; this is a mere catalogue of the sights of Florence; no illustrations); F. RUGGIERI, *Scelta di architetture onliche e moderne della città di Firenze* (I know only the second enlarged edition, edited by BOUCHARD, Florence, 1755; many beautiful plates).

The home of "the Raphael of Architecture" attracted enough attention to induce publishers to put out illustrated works on Vicenza. Of these I will mention: OTTAVIO BERTOTTI SCAMOZZI, *Il Forestiere istrutto delle cose più rare di Architettura, e di alcune Pitture della città di Vicenza: Dialogo* (Vicenza, 1761). The text, in dialogue form, a bit naïve, is written in lively and pleasing style. Leandro shows a foreigner, Guglielmo. the sights of Vicenza, expatiating on the Palladian

was to revolutionize Goethe's life. Moreover, absence of the sense for the picturesque in nature and in the work of man robbed Italy of that essential charm which it was left for the Romantic movement to discover. On the other hand, in the discussion of historical events, governments, institutions, customs—which, as we have seen, absorbed so much attention—of geological formations, and of plant and animal life, the method was essentially descriptive rather than critical. As the idea of evolution was foreign to the generation of Lalande, natural and human phenomena appeared disconnected, and the world, instead of being a web of laws, looked much like a bag full of marbles.

buildings. In 1780 a work appeared by the same author on the same subject, with virtually the same title. The dialogue form has here been abandoned. The text is a dry description, but the plates are clear and carefully executed.

On Verona we have the famous work *Verona Illustrata* (Verona, 1731-32), by the scholar and poet FRANCESCO SCIPIONE MAFFEI, the author of that *Merope* to which Voltaire himself owned his obligation. This large, erudite book is an elaborate treatise on the history, the literature, and the monuments of Verona. It is an exhibition of glowing patriotism, as appears in the style, and especially in the care shown in the collection and presentation of the facts. However, monuments, like S. Zeno, which later aroused the enthusiasm of a more romantic age, are here merely described without atmosphere. Significantly, the Tombe degli Scaligeri are treated as curiosities, being used several times in the illuminated initial letters of chapters. Maffei quotes a certain author as saying that the first "miglioramento dell' arte" was due to Cimabue and Giotto, the second, however, to "un certo (!) Masaccio."

Milan, though not regarded as essentially important, issued several guidebooks, of which I know only two: SEVILIANO LATUADA, *Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue* . . . . (Milan, 1737-38; 5 vols.; contains extremely detailed descriptions); *Guide des Etrangers dans Milan* (I know only the "nouvelle édition," Milan, 1786).

Of the books on Bologna I have seen GELATO, *Le Pitture di Bologna* . . . . (I know only the enlarged edition, Bologna, 1706; detailed descriptions of all paintings).

Even Siena, though generally overlooked by travelers, had her *Relazione delle cose più notabili della città di Siena*, by G. A. PECCI (Siena, 1752). This work, which, as the sub-title claims, was intended for the benefit of strangers visiting the city, is dry and uninteresting. It admits dearth of statues in the city, but—interesting fact—claims for the Sienese painters the honor of having been pioneers and restorers of art.

Although the Dome of Pisa was despised as a work of art, there appeared *Theatrum Basilicae Pisanae: In quo praecipuae iltius partes enarrationibus, iconibusque ostenduntur: Cura et Studio Josephi Martinii* (Rome, 1705; few illustrations).

Even this incomplete list may enable the reader to appreciate how much the eighteenth century did to give the intelligent traveler aid in acquainting himself with Italy.

CHAPTER III

TRANSITION FROM RATIONALISM TO ROMANTICISM

But even before Lalande had collected the materials for his *Voyage*, great changes were sweeping over Europe. Two forces that were making themselves more and more strongly felt in European culture were destined in course of time incisively to affect the attitude toward Italy. An emotional upheaval, beginning timidly in the first decades of the eighteenth century and culminating in Rousseau, was enriching the inner life of man in a manner hitherto undreamed of. Books like the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and the *Emile* disclosed a new world, in which nature and human life yielded hitherto unsuspected delights. Mountains, chasms, cataracts, formerly considered oppressive or repellent, became now the source of exultant joy; the lower phenomena of human life at last became the center of attraction. Even the sense for the picturesque—the ability to find delight in things peculiar, irregular—asserted itself with unexpected power. The world assumed a new face. In art, in literature, in government, new conceptions ruled.

The other force to be considered here is the appreciation of Greek civilization, begun by Caylus, carried on by Barthélemy, and finally culminating in Winckelmann. Greek antiquity was felt to distance the Roman in depth and serenity. This idealized Hellenism appeared so marvelous that many were seized with an enthusiasm as intense and as contagious as that of the Humanists of the sixteenth century, and as exclusive. And it was in Italy that the remnants of Greek culture could be studied to the greatest advantage. Greece herself was still in the power of the "unspeakable

Turk," and hence virtually inaccessible, while most of the ruins of Africa and Asia Minor, since brought to light by modern archæology, were slumbering under the earth. Even Sicily, replete with monuments of the Greek genius, was as yet virtually unknown.

In a time so turbulent and so original the attitude toward Italy must needs experience a marvelous change—a change essentially for the better, implying an immense widening of the horizon and an increase in subtlety of interpretation. Thus we see that Goethe, in using Volkmann's version of Lalande, unwittingly employed a guidebook which reflected a form of culture already antiquated in the year 1786.

We now turn from the purely informational descriptions of Italy, of which—at least for some time to come—Lalande marks the highest point, to the interpretative works which reflect the new currents discussed above. The first two works which concern us here are by the leaders of the new Hellenism—Barthélemy and Winckelmann. To both these men Italy ceases to be important where she is not Greek. Both are narrower in their interests even than Addison, and infinitely narrower than de Brosses. Their letters from Italy are an adequate reflex of their attitude toward art and, in a more subtle sense, even of their attitude toward life.

Barthélemy, the author of the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, although surely not the greatest, was one of the first and one of the most influential men in the movement in favor of Greek antiquity.[1] His *Voyage en Italie, fait en 1755, 1756, et 1757* and his *Lettres au comte*

[1] J. J. Barthélemy (1716–95) was famous in his time as a scholar and an antiquarian. His *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis* (1788) was an attempt at describing the Greece of the fourth century B. C. In spite of its many faults, it was potent in spreading interest in Greek culture. For Barthélemy cf. SERIEYS' introduction to his edition of BARTHÉLEMY'S *Voyage en Italie* (I know only the Paris edition of 1802); also BERTRAND, *La fin du classicisme et le retour à l'antique* (Paris, 1897), chap. ii *et passim;* also ROCHEBLAVE, *Essai sur le comte de Caylus* (Paris, 1890), pp. 92 ff.; also *Biographie universelle.*

de Caylus,[1] written from Italy, seem almost like an introduction to the letters of that inspired apostle of Greek beauty, Winckelmann. Like the great German, Barthélemy concentrates his attention on Rome, and thus becomes the first of that long line of enthusiasts, culminating in Goethe, whose watchword was *Romam quaero!* Here his whole soul expands. The wealth of antique monuments almost fills him with despair: "c'est impossible d'épuiser Rome" (January 19, 1757). Nevertheless, unlike Winckelmann, Barthélemy is not absolutely absorbed by Rome. After a comparatively short stay, he is almost content to exchange "ma ville de Rome," as he calls it, for his native Paris. Nor is he entirely blind to the importance of Florence, of which he writes, October 23, 1755: "nous voilà enfin à Florence, la patrie du Dante, et de Michel-Ange, la capitale des arts dans leur renaissance." He spends some time in the galleries and in the Stosch cabinet.[2] His trips to Naples, Livorno, Pisa, and Florence seem only to deepen his thirst for antiquity, although he is not blind to the glory of the Italian landscape as he sees it in the different parts of the peninsula.

To Winckelmann everything sank into insignificance beside the capital of antiquity. Here the intoxicated eye reveled in a world better, nobler, more uplifting than the present. No one except Goethe ever approached Rome with his soul so famished for beauty. In the north Winckelmann had always felt himself an exile, and he came to his own only when surrounded by the ruins of the ancient world. A short stay in Rome sufficed to convince him that in countries outside of Italy "ist nichts zu sehen" (to Hagedorn, January 24, 1759),[3] and that the other towns in Italy are

[1] In *Œuvres de J. J. Barthélemy*, tome troisième, première partie (Paris, 1821).

[2] On this collection cf. JUSTI, *Winckelmann*², Vol. II, pp. 238 ff.

[3] The chief sources of our knowledge of Winckelmann's views of Italy are his letters, written 1756–57 (cf. *Works*, ed. EISELEIN, Vols. X, XI [Donaueschingen, 1825], and *Winckelmann's Briefe an seine Freunde*, ed. DASSDORF [Dresden, 1777–80]); also JUSTI, *Winckelmann*².

comparatively dull. This harsh judgment applies even to Bologna, the darling of all other eighteenth-century travelers (to Riedesel, January 18, 1766). For the appearance of Florence he has praise in a letter to Pagliarini (September, 1758), but for her art, her architecture, and her literature he has the severest condemnation; cf. a letter to Riedesel, March 18, 1763: "Die Schreibart der Florentiner ist, wie ihre Mahlerey, ängstlich, gesucht, und was man 'miser' nennen möchte." He regards a prolonged stay in this city as unnecessary (to Berg, November 3, 1762). Venice seems merely to have irritated him (to Francke, December 7, 1755, and to Uden, June 1, 1756). Naples apparently palled on him after a brief stay (to Berends, May, 1758), though he more than once acknowledges the beauty of its surroundings. Elsewhere, too, where his canons of art do not hamper him, his eye is alive to beauty. Thus he, like Barthélemy, is one of the early and profound admirers of Italian landscape. Especially the country about Rome calls out pæans of rapture. He writes to Muzel-Stosch (May 4, 1760) that he is going to Castel-Franco "um die dortige himmlische Gegend zu geniessen, welche über alles in der Welt ist;" compare also a letter to Francke, March 3, 1762, and one to Riedesel, July 16, 1764. But of all the glories of Italy, only Rome really appeals to him. He never tires of singing her praises; "Mein wahres Vaterland," he frequently calls her, and announces his decision never to leave her (to Berg, March 22, 1763). To him Rome is "der Sammelplatz alles Schönen und Vortrefflichen" (to Wildewelt, June 3, 1767). "In Rom glaube ich, ist die hohe Schule für alle Welt, und auch ich bin geläutert und geprüfet," he writes (February 4, 1758). He would rather live in Rome than at the most brilliant court in Europe. Indeed, the Rome of today, vulgarized and brutalized, can scarcely convey to the modern traveler a conception of what

the eighteenth-century Rome—a moldering universe—must have meant to the artistic temperament. Hence the superior spirits of that day—Winckelmann, Mengs, Goethe, David—felt the capital of the world to be a loadstone of irresistible attraction. Thus it became the metropolis of "beaux esprits" and "belles âmes." The narrowness of Winckelmann's views, implied in his total neglect of so many objects of interest and inspiration, would be irritating in the extreme did we not feel it to be the organic expression of that passionate yearning to enter into the spirit of Greek beauty, to which the eighteenth century in Germany owed so much of its rejuvenation. The difference between Winckelmann's all-absorbing love for Rome and Barthélemy's more shallow affection appears from the fact that the German could never again breathe any but Roman air: "Voilà la ville qu'il fallait à son âme!"

Never again was the attitude toward Italy to be so consistently and exclusively Hellenic as it appears in the letters of these two great archæologists. For the rapidly growing complexity of the emotional life which, as we have seen, did away with rationalistic *Nüchternheit* and at the same time introduced a greater scope for the play of individuality, quickened the sense for the picturesque, and awakened sympathy with powerful personalities like Michael Angelo.[1] From 1769 on, Diderot in his *Salons* clamors for originality and depth of feeling in art. Herder and Heinse follow in his footsteps, even going so far as to intimate that every race and every age has the right to its

[1] The first great critic who had words of praise for Michael Angelo was Diderot, who recognized in him a kindred soul. A little later, in 1773, Sir Joshua Reynolds emphatically pointed to the superiority of the great Renaissance artist, for whom Winckelmann had nothing but contempt. In connection with this it is well to remember that as early as 1759 Lessing pointed out the superiority of Shakespeare over Racine, and in 1767 he made the English dramatist the starting point of his entire theory of criticism.

own art and literature—thus foreshadowing the modern theory of milieu.

The first in whom a distinctly new and modern note appears—although in his artistic judgments he voices the traditions represented by Cochin, and although his love for Rome almost equals Winckelmann's—is Georg Christian Adler. In his *Reisebemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Rom* (Altona, 1784) we find some of that sense for the picturesque and of that emotional vivacity which, like a clarion note, announce the advent of the nineteenth century. As the title of his book shows, he also makes the Eternal City his goal. Venice astonishes him, but means little to him; Padua contains nothing to fascinate him; his comments on Bologna, Pisa, and Florence are dry and unoriginal. But as soon as he arrives in Rome, his soul is filled with rapture; and in his method of description he exhibits a delicacy and a sense for atmosphere which designate him as a spokesman of the new generation:

> Die unvergleichliche Strasse der Kurs (il Corso) mit herrlichen Kirchen und fürstlichen Palästen bepflanzt, die majestätische Ehrensäule Antonius in der Mitte eines schönen Platzes, das kühle sanfte Rauschen so vieler lebendiger Springbrunnen . . . . erwecken eine Wunderempfindung in der Seele, die sich nicht ausdrücken und beschreiben lässt.

St. Peter's, he says,

> liegt so hoch, dass man durch die Thür über die Spitzen der Häuser hinsieht. Dies würkt eine herrliche Empfindung, und ich träumte mich oft der himmlischen Ruhe näher, wenn ich nach ermüdenden Arbeiten am Abend von der andern Seite in die Kirche trat, und in den weiten Raum einsam gegen die grosse Thür, und wie es schien, gegen den offenen Himmel zuging: und die begeisternde Freude und die erhabenen seligen Empfindungen, die dieser Anblick in mir erweckte, machten mich aller Arbeit vergessen.

The remains of classical antiquity in Rome fascinate him more than anything else, but his manner of describing his

delight in them shows a strongly Romantic note. From the cupola of St. Peter's he gazes with rapture on Rome:

Von hier übersieht man die Herrlichkeit der Welt. Zu seinen Füssen die stolze Stadt, die vom Schicksal bestimmt zu seyn scheint, die Welt zu beherrschen. . . . . Die Stadt mit allen ihren Tempeln und Ruinen, vor dem schönen Amphitheater immer grüner Gebürge, zwischen welchen die angenehmen Städte Tivoli Frascati und Albano liegen.

But his greatest admiration is aroused by the Pantheon:

Aber [es ist] auch keine [Kirche], die so etwas unaussprechlich Süsses, Feierliches, Unendliches in der Seele erwekt, als das Pantheon, iezt die Rotunde oder St. Maria ad Martyres. Der Portikus mit einem Walde hoher Granit Säulen aus Einem Stück, das Dach, das hohe Thor von Bronze, ist ganz Majestät, und das Inwendige, die schöne reine Form, aus der man durch die weite runde Oefnung, durch die einzig das Licht hineinleuchtet, zum blauen, heiteren Himmel emporschaut, der freie grosse Raum, der hohe Kreis korinthischer Säulen, der ihn mit entzückender Schönheit umgiebt, ist ganz Himmel.

He forestalls Byron and other Romanticists by seeking the ruins of Rome by moonlight:

Ueberhaupt machen die alten Ruinen und Gebäude bei dem schwächern Schein des Mondes oder der Fackel einen neuen und romantischern(!) Effekt, als bei dem Licht des Tages.

So he describes the Colosseum by moonlight with an appreciation of the charm of decay and of the picturesque that no one had hitherto even approached:

Der Mond warf über die eine halbniedergerissene Seite des Amphitheaters sein Licht auf die gegenüberstehende, die noch in ihrer ganzen Höhe steht. An der einen Seite also der dunkelste Schatten, der allmählig sich verlor, ie näher man der gegenüberstehenden kam, und an dieser dann völliges Licht. Dann selbst in dieser prächtig beleuchteten Mauer wieder dunkle Grüfte, nämlich die vormaligen Logen des Theaters. Am Ende des Gebäudes zwischen zwei hohen melancholischen Steineichen brante eine einsame Lampe über dem Häuschen und der Kapelle eines Ein-

siedlers. Zwischen den Mauern und unter den gewölbten Gängen lagen Schaaren von armen Leuten, die hier ihre Nachtherberge hatten. Und in einiger Entfernung schlug unermüdet die Nachtigall. Ich weilte bis nach Mitternacht mit unbeschreiblichem Vergnügen unter dieser Pracht der Verwüstung.

One can hardly believe that these words emanate from a contemporary of Volkmann. The last expression, "Pracht der Verwüstung," proclaims him the harbinger of that group of Romantic poets—Byron, Shelley, Platen, etc.—who revel in the desolation of Italy. It is amusing to imagine Montaigne, Zeiller, or even de Brosses writing in such a strain.

The same intensely modern note shows in Adler's descriptions of nature:

Der Wasserfall gibt die romantischste Aussicht, die man sich vorstellen kann . . . . er ist eine Zeitlang gleichsam im Abgrund begraben, breitet sich dann in der Ebene aus.

From one place you see over the waterfall

die herunterhängenden Gebüsche, die vielen Klippen des Travertinsteins, und auf der Spizze das Stadtthor, zur rechten Seite den schönen Tempel der Sibilla, der recht über das Thal hängt, rings um sich Felsen, und hinter sich grüne stille Hügel,—vor sich ein Anblick voll schaudervoller Pracht, hinter sich voll erquickender Ruhe.

Adler has little appreciation and less knowledge of art. He has great admiration for Bernini and Palladio, calls Milan "eine grosse, aber nicht schöne Stadt," and goes on to say of it: "Der Dom ist ein unordentlich über einander geworfener Berg von Marmor." His descriptions of the galleries he visits are perfunctory and cold. Nevertheless, whenever a painting or a building appeals to his strong sense for the picturesque or to his romantic imagination, we find him original in his judgments. Thus he admires "den unsterblichen" Michael Angelo, contrary to the traditional opinions which he quotes. He says of the "Last Judgment":

ein Gemälde, das viele Fehler haben soll, und das man doch bewundert, das die Einbildungskraft bewegt und in Erstaunen sezt, aber

[here note the earmarks of the rationalism which we saw in Cochin and Lalande] nicht gefällt wegen des Schauderhaften, das der Gegenstand zu erfordern schien.

The same sensitiveness to the powerful, the romantic, and the picturesque causes him to deviate from the admiration current, in his time, for the regular streets of Turin, which, as we saw above, had called forth the enthusiastic encomiums of de Brosses. To Adler these broad, straight, and large squares are "Schönheiten, die bald ermüden."

Adler, then, stands as the first of a series of interpreters of Italy whom we may term transitionists. In art he represents the old traditions, possessing no eye for the beauties of Gothic architecture or pre-Raphaelite painting; although at the very time of his visit there were heard the first notes of that reaction in favor of the Middle Ages which was to lead to a complete revulsion in the conception of the culture-value of Italy. On the other hand, he is almost startlingly modern in his emotional interpretation of the same phenomena which had appealed to his predecessors only intellectually, and in the temperamental affinity which he exhibits toward powerful personalities.[1]

Wilhelm Heinse about the same time as Adler visited the South. Like him a representative of the Winckelmann spirit, he was far more original and a far greater stylist.[2] He

[1] G. C. Adler (1734–1804) was a theologian and antiquarian of some note, and the author of several archæological works (cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*). In 1781 he put out his *Ausführliche Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, in which with infinite care he attempts to conjure up antiqne Rome. Incidentally he mentions many monuments of modern Rome. The book betrays a rather remarkable acquaintance with Latin authors. (I know only the one-volume edition, Altona, 1781; the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* speaks of a four-volume edition, 1781–82.)

[2] J. J. W. Heinse (1749–1803) first studied law, and by Wieland was recommended to Gleim. After for a time enjoying Gleim's hospitality, he was invited by Jacobi to Düsseldorf, where he had an opportunity to study the large collection of paintings which later went to Munich. He now felt the need of a more intimate acquaintance with the masterpieces of painting, in order to become an art-critic. On his return from Italy he became librarian in the service of the elector of Mainz. In 1787 appeared his *Ardinghello*, the first German *Künstlerroman*, and as such of influence on the novel of the Romanticists. In 1796 appeared his *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, and in 1805 his *Anastasia und das Schachspiel*. Heinse may be looked upon as the

is the first of those visitants to Italy who represent that longing for a many-sided culture which finds its highest expression in Goethe. In his early years Heinse had written art-criticisms conspicuous for daring originality, and had in a sense become the German Diderot. More than that, throughout his life he exhibited a critical appreciation of music rarely found in one so keenly alive to the charm of line and color.[1] Moreover, his historical sense was remarkably developed, so that his criticisms imply, though distantly, the deterministic principle; while all his writings are distinguished by a sensitiveness that marks him as the contemporary of Rousseau. These various traits stamp him as one of those truly original personalities who gave the intellectual life of Germany at that period its peculiar vitality and charm.

Heinse was in Italy from 1780 to 1783. At that time his nationalistic tendencies in art-criticism had been suppressed by the teaching of Winckelmann, to whose fascination he fell captive. In his Italian letters and in his diary[2] he evinces the same inability as did Adler to seize the essential beauty of Venice and of Florence. Like Winckelmann, he harshly attacks Florentine art: "Ihren [der Florentiner] Mahlern fehlt es durchaus an schöner Gestalt und Form, und überhaupt an Verstand ein Ganzes gross und schön hervorzubilden."[3] Rome, however, thrills him, as it had thrilled

hyphen between Diderot and Fr. Schlegel, the founders of modern impressionistic art-criticism. For further details cf. JESSEN, *Heinses Stellung zur bildenden Kunst und ihrer Aesthetik* (Berlin, 1901); also KLENZE, "The Growth of Interest in the Early Italian Masters," *Modern Philology*, October, 1906, pp. 17 f. and 22 f.

[1] This trait adds to the value of his records from Italy. The author of *Hildegard von Hohenthal* could not remain untouched by the beauty of that Italian music which at the time was delighting all Europe; cf. p. 18.

[2] I have used Heinse's letters to Gleim and Jacobi, found in *Briefe deutscher Gelehrten, aus Gleims litterarischem Nachlass*, edited by WM. KÖRTE, Vol. II (Zürich, 1806); furthermore, CARL SCHÜDDEKOPF, "Heinse: Italienisches Tagebuch," *Neue Rundschau*, July, 1905, pp. 842 ff.; also a few sheets from this same diary kindly lent me by Dr. Schüddekopf. The entire manuscript is as yet unprinted. It is kept in the Public Library of Frankfurt am Main. I regret not having had access to it. I further found valuable hints and material in JESSEN, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 129 ff.

[3] JESSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

Adler, with an almost uncontrollable enthusiasm. After a year's stay, he writes to Gleim: "Ich . . . . kann davon nicht los kommen, bin dahinein wie gezaubert, so sehr fesselt es mich an sich." He calls it the capital of "die bildenden Künste."[1]

Heinse's pæans on the Pantheon surpass those of Adler. He exclaims of it:

> Der Raum darin allein reisst ohne Wort und Feyer einen Menschen von Gefühl zur Anbetung hin, und entzückt ihn aus der Zeit in die Unermesslichkeit . . . . kein Tempel hat je mehr Süsses, Bauges, Erquickendes, Unendliches in mir erregt.

He is no less deeply affected by the Capitol and the Colosseum, which stimulate his imagination through their historic associations and afford him emotional ecstasy by their picturesque decay:

> Welch ein Anblick! Da war's stille bis auf das Rauschen der Brunnen. . . . . Stolzer Hügel, höchste Glorie von Menschenherzen, Ziel der Edlen, unter hundert Völkern und Nationen für den Grössten anerkannt zu werden, und sich's zu fühlen! Stolzer kleiner Hügel, wogegen die höchsten Gebirge des Erdbodens plattes Land sind!

From the capitol he goes to the Foro Boario:

> Es war schaurig und still im Mondschein, ich merkte wenig Menschen, und die Schatten von den Bäumen machten alles geistig. Meine Phantasie bildete sich die Gestalten der Tempel von Jupiter Maximus und Tonans . . . . und meine Augen sahen gerührt die einzelnen Trümmer.

[1] Rome in Heinse's time (1780), we must remember, was a loadstone that attracted the young artists from all parts of the world. They convened there for inspiration and training very much as the artists of today gather in Paris and Munich. In Rome the most noted of contemporary masters were to be found: Mengs, Tischbein (Goethe's friend and the creator of the famous portrait of the poet now in Frankfurt), Trippel (the author of Goethe's bust now in Weimar), Dannecker (the sculptor of the Schiller bust), David, Canova, etc. Thus Rome was looked upon as the seat of the remnants of the ancient world—to the contemporaries of Winckelmann of prime importance—the great treasure-house of High Renaissance art, and the studio of young aspirants to artistic honors. (On this subject cf. HARNACK, *Deutsches Kunstleben in Rom im Zeitalter der Klassik* [Weimar, 1896]; further material on Rome as an intellectual center is to be found in the works on Italy of Moritz and Andres, to be discussed later.)

Here is the love for antiquity as seen through the prism of intense emotionalism. From Winckelman he had learned to admire the statues in the Vatican and elsewhere, but the expression of his exuberant joy in them is original and modern.

The romantic beauty of Tivoli, especially of the waterfalls and cataracts, fascinates him as it had Adler. The water "strömt wild durch ein enges Thal daher, und stürzt sich jetzt gleich an der Stadt in die Tiefe von ein Paar hundert Palmen." The Teverone "tobt und wüthet, wie ein wahrer ergrimmter junger See-Gott." Of the "Cascatella" he says: "Sie ist das Reizendste dieser Art, was ich je gesehen habe, und das Süsseste von dem ganzen romantischen Thale, das von dem Hauptsturz an, um Tivoli herum, zwischen die Gebirge wollüstig sich einsenkt."

Like Adler again, he voices that *Wonne der Wehmuth* which was later to be the predominant note in the descriptions of the Romantic poets. His sensations when standing in the midst of Roman ruins he describes thus:

> Ha! wenn man mit vollem Herzen und wahren Sinnen so in dem Theater der Zerstörung da steht, so überläuft die Menschlichkeit ein Schauder bey einem, und man verschwindet mit seinem Paar Knochen und Adern und Nerven wie im Nichts in dem verschlingenden Abgrund der Zeiten.

So far, then, we see in Heinse a reproduction of Adler raised to a higher power by his superior warmth of feeling and of style. But now we come to the point of divergence, the point at which Heinse leaves all his guides—even including Winckelmann—and with daring originality extols as beautiful buildings and pictures hitherto neglected and despised: the romanesque S. Zeno in Verona, the fine Bellini in S. Zaccaria in Venice, and in Milan that dome which Cochin had called the apex of Gothic folly, which Adler had passed by with a smile of pity, and which later Goethe contemned as utterly formless. Heinse gives us the first hint

of that love for mediævalism which in the nineteenth century was to change the entire physiognomy of Italy.

Of great interest to us, although it does not add anything new, is the work on Italy by Karl Philipp Moritz, the author of *Anton Reiser*. Moritz was in Rome at the time of Goethe's sojourn there, and was, as we know, highly esteemed by the latter for that great artistic sensitiveness which made his *Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen* important for his time. Moritz distinctly belongs to the Winckelmann group (his first letter bears the motto *Romam quaero*), and, though a man of great intelligence, is less original, and therefore less interesting, than Heinse. His impressions are noted in *Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786 bis 1788: In Briefen von Karl Philipp Moritz* (three vols.; Berlin, 1792–93).[1] Moritz' book is notably free from any desire to give information. He presupposes in his readers a knowledge of the objects which he describes—a very long step this from Keyssler and Lalande!

Like Winckelmann and Adler, Moritz hastens to Rome, deferring all detailed descriptions till he should have reached this goal: "dorthin eil' ich, wo auf den sieben Hügeln das Grösste und Glänzendste, was einst der Erdkreis sahe, sich gründete und bildete, und wo noch itzt die Kunst bei den erhabensten Ueberresten ihren festen Wohnsitz findet." His delight is aroused in equal measure by the reminiscences of past glory and by present picturesqueness. His first visit to the Forum (significantly undertaken at the fall of night) he describes thus: "Nun war der Platz ganz leer; die Geschichte der Vorwelt stieg vor meiner Seele empor; aber der

[1] From a strictly chronological point of view this would seem the place to introduce Goethe's *Tagebücher und Briefe aus Italien* and the *Italienische Reise*. But there is implied in Goethe's letters and notes an attitude so much more mature, a method so much more scientific, than is true of the works with which we are here dealing, that it seems advisable to defer this discussion until we are in a position to judge in what respect the author of the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* differed from his contemporaries.

Schleier der Nacht verbreitete sich über die glänzende Erscheinung; und in der Ferne ertönte die Sterbeglocke der Vergangenheit aus dem dumpfen Kloster." He meets Goethe there and with him views the sights of Rome. Of the effect on his mind of Goethe's society he most significantly says: "Dieser Geist ist ein Spiegel, in welchem sich mir alle Gegenstände in ihrem lebhaftesten Glanze und in ihren frischesten Farben darstellen." In the description of the visit to the Villa Pamphili there appears a distinctly romantic note: "Alles stimmt doch hier zusammen, um den Geist zu den Betrachtungen des Grossen und Schönen zu erheben. Die gen Himmel emporragende dunkle Cypresse ladet durch ihre melancholische Pracht zum ernsten Nachdenken ein." The romantic love for loneliness and melancholy is apparent also in his descriptions of the Colosseum and its surroundings: "Alles ist hier einsam und öde, und nur hier und da verweilt das Auge auf einer Hütte und einem Weinberge, oder auf einem Kloster und seinem Thürmchen, zwischen den himmelansteigenden Ruinen." In his descriptions we are struck with his keen sensitiveness to the beauties of landscape, especially to those features which the romantic temperament appreciates: the falling of night in wild and lonely spots, mountains, cypress trees, cascades. He describes the cascades of Tivoli with more regard to their gentle and melancholy charm than to their grandeur.

In matters of art and architecture he is almost a zealot in his admiration of the antique. The influence of Winckelmann is everywhere apparent, and like Addison he is fond of quoting Vergil and other Latin poets in places that are redolent of classic reminiscence. Nevertheless, we find in Moritz a note of daring and originality. He boldly praises Michael Angelo. His admiration of "The Last Judgment" is expressed in terms almost exaggerated. He sees in this work of art "die Zerstörung in ihrer ganzen, grauenvollen

Pracht. . . . . Raub der Verzweiflung ist der Gedanke, welcher im höchsten Grade hier versinnlicht und lebendig dem Auge dargestellt wird." His conclusions on Michael Angelo, however, show the trammels which Winckelmann had laid upon his spirit, and are especially interesting to us because they bear resemblance to the point of view of Goethe: "Beim Michel-Angelo herrscht im gewissen Sinne mehr eine grosse Manier als ein grosser Styl." More remarkable, however, in the pupil of Winckelmann is his emotion on entering a Gothic cathedral. For, while St. Peter's with its harmony and delightful sense of proportion fills one with a sense of comfort and happiness ("man fühlt sich durch einen sanften Zug emporgehoben"), in a Gothic cathedral one seems "mit einer Art von wilder Schwärmerei sich selber in schauervollen Labyrinthen zu verlieren." This expression makes us feel that, had Moritz been less restricted by the current opinions of his time, he might have been one of the first interpreters of mediæval art. As it is, he passes by Florence and Venice without any real comprehension of their intrinsic charm and importance, and Siena is thought unworthy of any notice whatever.

An especial value attaches to Moritz' criticisms on art on account of the fact that he unmistakably manifests a desire to enter sympathetically into the spirit of the artist and to interpret the work of art from the latter's standpoint, instead of merely applying certain accepted standards as had been the custom of critics before him. This trait, of which we have observed faint symptoms in Heinse, might have produced more valuable results had it been applied to a larger field than that circumscribed by Moritz' prejudices. As it is, it enables him, indeed, to find true eloquence for works like the Laocoon and the Apollo or the Borghese gladiator, and the masters of the High Renaissance and the Bolognese find in him a sympathetic interpreter; but the

Middle Age and the Early Renaissance are neglected, and in discussing the Logge of Raphael he takes occasion to have a fling at the Dome of Milan. This narrowness arose, in part at least, from his lack of historic sense. Thus in Rome the remains of antiquity, the Christian catacombs with their mosaics, and the mediæval and Renaissance works of art evoke in him no picture of the caravan of historic pageant.

Sympathetic interest without attempt at historic explanation appears also in Moritz' descriptions of the manners and customs of the people, the government of the cities, etc. He does not profit by such observations to the same extent as Goethe, but he gives far more warmth to these accounts than did the Rationalists before him.

Adler and Moritz, then, were representatives of the emotional trend of the time. That this tendency was sweeping in its wake, even those who would most naturally have been inclined to resist it, is proved by the fact that a great scholar, one in whom the intellectual interests would naturally rule paramount, should revel, as no one had ever done before, in the glamor and the sensuous beauty of the most picturesque, the most poetical city in Italy—Venice. *Cartas familiares del abate D. Juan Andres . . . . dandole noticia del viage . . . . de Italia en el año 1785 . . . .* were published in Madrid from 1786 to 1793, in five volumes.[1] The work gives illuminating information on the scholarship of Italy. Florence is designated by Andres as the Athens

[1] The abbé DON JUAN ANDRES was famous for his vast erudition. He was the author of a *Saggio su la filosofia del Galileo*, which attracted universal attention in its day. In 1782 appeared his *Dell' origine, progresso e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, in five volumes, a work which was based on immense research and characterized by rare acumen. It was often praised by TIRABOSCHI, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Florence, 1805 ff.), Vol. I, pp. 80, 177, 181, 250; Vol. III, pp. 171, 269, 355, 369; Vol. IV, pp. 170, 202; Vol. V, p. 98. The *Cartas familiares* were translated into German by C. A. SCHMIDT, under the title *J. Andres Reise durch verschiedene Städte Italiens 1785 und 1788, aus dem Spanischen* (Weimar, 1792; 2 vols.). Mercier intended translating Andres into French, but was prevented by the Revolution. (Cf. DE BACKER, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. I [Liège-Paris, 1869], col. 157.)

of modern times. Bologna, as a center of cultural life in the fields of art, of science, calls out his ardent admiration. "Bolonia, en suma, ofrece abundantes medios par cultivar en todos sus ramos las artes y las ciencias." He speaks of the manuscripts in the library, of the meridian in S. Petronio, and of the wealth of paintings by Reni, "el Guercino," etc. Above all, he gives us, as no one had done before, a vivid impression of the greatness of Rome as an intellectual center. With him we enter into the very heart of the artistic circle, the presence of which made Rome the brilliant metropolis that she was at the close of the eighteenth century. He is struck by the excellence of a picture just being exhibited in the French Academy by "a M. David." He tells us that the most famous painter of the time was Batoni, eighty years old but still vigorous, and describes the division of opinion on the part of the Romans as to whether he or Mengs deserved the palm. He speaks of Tischbein and Hackert, of Angelica Kaufmann, and of others. Among the literary celebrities gathered in Rome the poet Monti appears to him the most famous. He meets Prince Chigi, several cardinals, and the Abate Visconti, who were prominent in literary circles.[1]

On the whole, Andres' interest seems to be focused less on the natural sciences than on theology, antiquity, and the various artistic activities. He has little knowledge of art, to be sure, and is almost entirely under the influence of Winckelmann, whom he often quotes. His comments on the galleries and on architecture are historical rather than artistic, and here and there he exhibits something like a dim comprehension of evolution in art. He calls Bellini "the Perugino of Venice," and speaks rather patronizingly, yet respectfully, of Giorgione and Carpaccio. But he has no appreciation for the Dome of Milan, sees nothing of any significance what-

[1] Andres' account of the life in Rome is rounded out by chaps. vii and x in F. I. L. MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien* (Berlin, 1792).

ever in S. Zeno, and above all expresses the most ardent admiration for the straight streets, the large squares, and the great edifices (all of one pattern) of Turin. And yet this man was to be a pioneer in the discovery of the picturesqueness of Venice. He was to prove himself sensitive in a high degree to the atmosphere of this "fairest city of the heart." Not that he found there what Byron did, or what a modern traveler goes to see. The charming balconies, the shadowy nooks, the unexpected vistas all escape him. But the strangeness of this city lying in the water, unincumbered by walls and portcullises, with its wonderful palaces and cupolas, bursts upon his sight like a dream, and he is never weary of exclaiming: "¡Que grandeza! Que magnificencia! Que generosidad!" The beauty of the Piazza S. Marco fills him with delight: "¡Quan grande y estupenda no es eqella plaza!" No other square is equal to it, unless it be the one in front of St. Peter's in Rome. Only, St. Peter's is dead, and this square is full of the richest and the most varicolored life! This life possesses a never-failing charm for Andres. The many people—among them magistrates "con sus togas y pelucones," Turks, Greeks, and, in fact, representatives of all the nations of the world—form a delightful and varied spectacle. The architecture also enraptures him. At one end St. Mark's, at the other S. Geminiano, "ne tan grande ni rico, pero de mejor gusto de arquitectura." The Ducal Palace he admires, saying of it: "de una arquitectura algo gotica, pero che tiene noblezza y grandiosidad." But St. Mark's itself he does not really appreciate. Outside of the square he is greatly interested in the Canal Grande, but especially in the shops, and he adds: "un continuo encuentro de personas, y un ayre de riqueza, opulencia y alegria, tienen en continuo embeleso y enagenamiento el anima del forastero." This opulence and gaiety form the characteristic note of the life of Venice in

his accounts. There is not a hint of that strain of elegy over the decay of the fair Queen of the Adriatic with which the Romantic poets have made us familiar. And significant also is the fact that he lauds to the skies the Venetian government ("que haic felices, ò à los menos tiene contentos algunos milliones de hombres!") and predicts for it perennial prosperity—only a dozen years before its doleful collapse.

Even when Andres is conventional in his views his style marks him as the child of the new generation. The quotations given above suffice to prove his emotional vivacity, which indeed sometimes verges on exaggeration.

Vivacity, carried at times to the verge of hysteria, marks the style and the general character of the work of a traveler who, like Andres, shows genuine delight in the City of the Doges. This is no less a person than Hester Lynch Piozzi,[1] the whimsical friend of Dr. Johnson and for a time conspicuous in the by-ways of English literature. She was in Italy from 1784 to 1786, that is, just after Adler, at about the same time as Andres, and just before Moritz and Goethe. The results of her trip she published under the title, *Observations and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (two volumes; London, 1789).[2] She is, on the whole, more conspicuous than Andres for sensitiveness to the picturesque, which in her excludes

[1] Mrs. Piozzi (1741–1821) was first married to one Thrale, who died; in 1784 she married an Italian musician named Piozzi. The marriage met with strong opposition on the part of her friends and caused a rupture with Johnson. She went to Italy on her wedding journey to escape the criticism thus evoked. Her *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson* called out the violent condemnation of many writers, among them Baretti. (Cf. *Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi*, edited by A. HAYWARD [2 vols., London, 1861], and *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

[2] This book was translated into German by GEORG FORSTER (the translator of *Sakontala*), under the title, *Bemerkungen auf der Reise durch Frankreich, Italien und Deutschland von Esther Lynch Piozzi: Aus dem Englischen mit einer Vorrede und Anmerkungen* (2 vols.; Frankfurt und Mainz, 1790). A large portion of Mrs. Piozzi's interesting volumes has been made accessible to modern readers in a book entitled *Glimpses of Italian Society in the Eighteenth Century: From the "Journey" of Mrs. Piozzi: With an Introduction by the Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco* (London, 1892).

the intellectual interest. In her conceptions of what constitutes the beautiful she shares all the prejudices of her time. Thus she admires Turin. "This lovely little city," as she calls it, "is built in the form of a star, with a large stone in its centre, on which you are desired to stand and see the streets all branch regularly from it, each street terminating with a beautiful view of the surrounding country." In Genoa she remarks with pleasure upon the uniformity of the women's dress: "uniformity of almost any sort gives a certain pleasure to the eye." In matters of art and architecture she exhibits little knowledge and no originality. She gushes over "the unrivaled powers of the divine Guercino," the "wonders of the Carracci school," and passes by the architectural monuments of Pisa and Milan with no especial comment. If she expresses a desire to take up her permanent abode in Siena, it is not because of its artistic elements, but because "this town is neat and cleanly, and comfortable and airy." Of Florence, "the residence of sweetness, grace, and the fine arts particularly," she evidently feels, in a general sense, the *anima*, but shows no intelligent conception of its immense aesthetic importance. She proves herself, however, from the very start sensitive to the beauties of nature, the grand and overwhelming as well as the gracious and sweet. The Bagni di Pisa she calls "a place which beggars all description, where the mountains are mountains of marble, and the bushes on them bushes of myrtle, large as our hawthorns and white with blossoms." The vicinity of Vesuvius will not let her sleep. The lazzaroni appeal to her only because of their picturesqueness; there is no rationalistic indignation at their condition. In Naples she is filled with delight at the liveliness and gaiety of the streets.

But all her enthusiasm, all her rapture, is called out by the city and the life of Venice. The first view of St. Mark's fills her with delight.

Whoever sees St. Mark's Place lighted up of an evening, adorned with every excellence of human art and pregnant with pleasure, ... the moonbeams dancing on its subjugated waves, ... girls with guitars skipping about the square, ... a barge with a band of music . . . . will be apt to cry of Venice, as Eve says to Adam in Milton: "With thee conversing, I forget all time."

She mentions only the palaces of Palladio, and seems not to see the Gothic edifices. Yet she evinces a distinct sense for atmosphere in calling the coffee-houses and casinos, for instance, "those snug retreats." The gondolas delight her; though black, "they are nothing less than sorrowful." A gondolier singing the "Flight of Erminia" from Tasso thrills her with joy. Her enthusiastic encomiums are also bestowed upon the government, which she, like Andres, praises for its efficiency and stability. Like him, too, she sees Venice only gay and prosperous, with no hint of sadness or decay. She is the first who expresses real love for Venice. Andres was more astounded even than delighted. But, though Mrs. Piozzi no more than he comprehended the intrinsic charm of the city, though to her too the Venice of Ruskin as well as the Venice of Byron remains a book of seven seals, she feels a personal affection for "this beautiful spot, ... this gay, this gallant city!" which makes her cry "alas!" when compelled to depart.

The emotionality, the vividness, the sense for the picturesque, which have marked the writings of the two travelers last mentioned come to a sort of climax in one who may justly be called the Rousseau of Italian travelers, as de Brosses has been dubbed their Voltaire. Dupaty,[1] the author of *Lettres sur l'Italie, en 1785*, while he does not take us to

[1] CHARLES-MARGUÉRITE-JEAN-BAPTISTE DUPATY, "président à mortier au parlement de Bordeaux," author of *Réflections historiques sur les lois criminelles*, was born in 1744 and died in 1788. He was of noble parentage, but devoted himself to the cause of the common man, for whose rights he fought with a passionate devotion. He was exiled from his fatherland for his fearlessness in attacking some powerful personalities, and was in consequence regarded as a martyr. He became famous for his profound knowledge of law, and labored for many years upon a work intended to

the center of modern times, leads us at least to the threshold —so warm, so eloquent, so sensitive are his impressions. This high-born disciple of Rousseau displays a sympathy for the Italian populace that occasionally seems almost hysterical in its expression. To the picture of Italy he adds nothing new; in fact, since he pays no attention to Venice, his Italy is a little smaller than that of Mrs. Piozzi and Andres. But that which he observes he seizes upon with imagination and emotion, and reflects his impressions in language sometimes almost childishly enthusiastic. His pages are thickly strewn with exclamation marks: "Quelles glaces! quel pavé! quelles colonnes!" he exclaims of the Via Nuova in Genoa; and of the palaces: "Je suis ébloui, étourdi, ravi: je ne sais ce que je suis. Mes yeux sont rempli d'or, de marbre et de crystal!" And later he cries out: "Si l'on veut voir la plus belle rue qui soit dans le monde entier, il faut voir à Gênes la rue Neuve." We can imagine de Brosses raising his eyebrows with aristocratic contempt at such vulgar effusion.

Dupaty's standards of art differ in no wise from those of the travelers whom we have previously discussed. He belongs to that irritating class of persons who claim an appreciation of Italian art, though utterly ignorant of the subject. Thus he says of the Florentine gallery that the pictures in it are vastly inferior to the statuary—a judgment based upon the fact that tradition had armed him with admiration for the classic sculptures there found, while no one had opened his eyes to the mediæval paintings. In praise of the Venus di Medici he cries: "Dans cette Vénus, en effet, tout est Vénus. . . . . Dans quel dédale de beautés l'œil se perd et s'égare;" etc., etc. Among the few pictures in Italy which seem to call out his enthusiasm are Paolo Veronese's "Judith" and

expose the weaknesses of the criminal law of France He died before his task was accomplished. His attacks on the oppression of the rich are couched in terms that rival Rousseau's in fervid eloquence. (Cf. *Biographie universelle.*)

Guido Reni's "Assumption." "C'est là une vierge! ce sont là des anges! c'est là monter vers le ciel!" he cries of the latter. But it is characteristic of his style and his temperament that he gives his descriptions of galleries in different letters, bit by bit—a very different method from the pedantic accounts of earlier travelers who wrote treatises on the subject. Even his love for antiquity is controlled by his emotions. Hence his visit to Rome excites him almost to frenzy. He cannot sleep the first night, but continually whispers to himself: "Tu es à Rome!" His emotions overcome him: "Je ne puis m'empêcher de verser des larmes: j'étois dans Rome. Quoi! c'est là Rome! quoi! Rome, ... cet air que je respire à présent, c'est cet air que Cicéron a frappé de tant de mots éloquens!" Not ancient Rome alone—though he expends many sighs and exclamations on the Pantheon, which seems "comme un beau vers de Corneille"—excites his emotions; modern Rome also, in its degradation, calls out his lament: "Non, cette ville, ce n'est pas Rome, c'est son cadavre." And, on the whole, he does not see the gay, the prosperous, the showy Italy of Mrs. Piozzi. To this disciple of Rousseau the social conditions appeal, not from their picturesque, but from their ethical side. The beggars and the lazzaroni fill him with indignation against the clergy, the government, the wealthy. If the people are, nevertheless, fairly happy, this is due to their lack of energy. Rousseauan also is his enthusiasm for the beauties of landscape. With him, too, the cascades at Tivoli are made the subject of ardent praise. Yet on the whole he prefers French scenery to Italian. He particularly objects to the "regularity" of the Italian garden—a most significant note.[1]

In spite of this very meager, not to say empty account,

[1] Another who belongs to the class of Andres-Piozzi-Dupaty is F. PAGÉT, whose *Nouveau voyage autour du monde, en Asie, en Amérique et en Afrique, en 1788, 1789 et 1790; précédé d'un voyage en Italie et en Sicile, en 1787*, appeared in 1797. Emotional, yet an admirer of Bologna and the Bolognese, he adds nothing new to his predecessors, except perhaps a faint appreciation of St. Mark's.

Dupaty is of distinct importance in the development of the story of Italian travel. Whenever he is impressed—and he is very impressionable—his language assumes a poetic warmth which was utterly lacking in one so far his superior in intellectual treatment of his subject as de Brosses. This impressionability, this keen sensitiveness to atmosphere, which enabled him, for example, not only to feel, but to convey to his readers, the *genius loci* of so fascinating a spot as the Campo Santo in Pisa (although the frescoes there mean absolutely nothing to him), is the divining-rod which discovered for the modern world the enchanted Italy of Byron,[1] where Rationalism had seen only the sober land of Lalande.

[1] We shall see later that Byron most probably was directly indebted to Dupaty for many details on Italy.

Italy had by this time become so familiar to the public that it could safely be used as a background for novels. As early as 1772 MME. DE GENLIS used Italy, especially Rome, as a setting for a considerable portion of her pedagogical novel *Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l'Éducation.* Here, however, not the artistic or natural charms of Italy are brought out, but the manners and customs of the people, which form an excellent text to this disciple of Rousseau for preaching against corruption and vanity. The author might indeed be classed among the cavilers against Italy. On leaving, she exclaims: "Il m'est impossible de regretter l'Italie quand je retourne en France" (Vol. III, Letter 11, p. 63 [Paris, An X, 1802]).

In 1787 appeared HEINSE'S *Ardinghello*, in which for the first time an attempt is made to treat the Italy of the sixteenth century as a poetical background—what Germans call *einen stimmungsgebenden Hintergrund.* SCHILLER in his *Geisterseher* (1789) paints Venice as a citadel of elegant corruption and intrigue.

But the first novel, to my knowledge, which was to become of determining influence in this respect was MRS. RADCLIFFE'S *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). The Italy we see here is the Italy of Mrs. Piozzi and Dupaty, with the former of whom the authoress—who drew for her descriptions altogether upon her imagination and upon books—was personally acquainted. Though the heroine is dejected and almost desperate, she sees the same gay, sprightly Venice, full of dancing girls, masks, music, and frivolity, which had delighted Mrs. Piozzi. In the depictions of landscape she revels emotionally in tremendous precipices, roaring cataracts, wild, gloomy woods, and pensive sunsets—in true Rousseau-Dupaty style. This Italy, with its exaggerated theatrical scenery, prepared the public for the Italy of Byron, which was almost equally imaginary.

CHAPTER IV

SICILY

WE are now in a position to take up the study of Goethe's attitude toward Italy as reflected in the notes and letters which formed the basis of the *Italienische Reise*. Before turning to this task, however, it will be necessary to sketch the growth of interest in Sicily. For Sicily to Goethe was the key to Italy. As Sicily was not for a long time regarded as an integral part of Italy, the descriptions of the island form a separate chapter in the history of Italian travel. Because of this dissociation and consequent neglect, the importance of Sicily as a culture factor was not appreciated until very late.

As early as the seventeenth century we find an occasional work showing a purely pragmatical interest in Sicily—similar to that manifested in Italy as a whole at that time by such works as those of Cluverius,[1] Zeiller, etc. In the eighteenth century, writers on Sicily were moved by the same desire to enlarge the intellectual horizon by increasing the available information which, as we have seen, guided such writers on Italy as Wright, Keyssler, and even Richard and Lalande.[2]

[1] Noteworthy among these is first of all a work by the same CLUVERIUS: *Sicilia Antiqua: Ubi primum universae huius Insulae varia Nomina, Incolae, Situs, Figura, Magnitudo, tum Orientale, Meridionale atque Septemtrionale Litora . . . . solidissime explicantur* (Lugduni Batavorum, *s. a.*): often reprinted, e. g., 1624, 1629, etc.

[2] Among these we may here mention: PANCRAZI, *Antichità Siciliane Spiegate . . . .* (Naples, 1751-52). This is not a record of travel, but rather a learned treatise on the earliest inhabitants. JACOB PHILIP D'ORVILLE'S *Sicula . . . .* (Amsterdam, 1764) is, much like Pancrazi's, an antiquarian's work, done with care and hence important for the time. Winckelmann appreciated its value. A work that marks a step in advance, as it attempts to describe the island to the inhabitants of the rest of Italy from the point of view of geography, history, sociology, government, etc., is the abate LEANTI'S *Lo Stato Presente della Sicilia . . . .* (Palermo, 1761). The book lacks atmosphere and in matters artistic is devoid of critical sense. But its very existence well illustrates how unknown the island was even to the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula. Somewhat apart from these works is the *Voyage to Sicily and Malta, by Mr.*

But the first appreciation of Sicily as a culture force of importance in the intellectual life of Europe comes in the wake of the Winckelmann movement. A friend of Winckelmann, Baron J. H. von Riedesel. was the first to give to the world a description of Sicily that may be considered in any sense interpretative. In 1767 he undertook to traverse the island—not merely to sail around it and touch at various ports, as had often been done before—and, if possible, to ascertain its true importance for a student of art. Winckelmann himself had projected such a journey, but had been thwarted. The results of Riedesel's trip appeared in a book entitled *Reise durch Sicilien und Grossgriechenland* (Zürich, 1771).[1] As a disciple of the great archæologist, Riedesel sees antiquity, and sees little else, in Sicily. He exhibits but slender ability to render the characteristic beauty of the island. Not even the location of Palermo seems satisfactory to him, "denn sie [die Stadt] ist von Gebürgen umgeben und hat nur einige wohlgebaute Thäler." Of course, the cathedral of Palermo does not appeal to him, but the four sarcophagi of porphyry inside, though not Greek, are "schön für die Zeit der Könige, welche darin begraben sind." The difference between his point of view and our own becomes evident in the following: "In Monreale, einem Städtgen zwo Meilen von Palermo, auf einem Berge gelegen, ist der Dom wegen zwo anderer Urnen von Porphyr [meaning sarcophagi] sehenswürdig." The remainder of this church and its monastery, so much admired by modern criticism, are uninter-

John Dryden Jr. . . . . In the years 1700 & 1 (London 1776). This record attracts attention on account of its author, the second son of the poet Dryden, and more especially for the fact that, although traveling at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, the author exhibits a certain sensitiveness to the romantic effects in nature, at least in the Bay of Naples, and even, though but faintly, in art; for the cathedral of Monreale is to him "of Gothick architecture, very venerable and majestick."

[1] The book went through several editions, the original one appearing without the author's name. In 1773 it was translated into French and into English. The French translation contains additional treatises on Sicily by COUNT ZINZINDORF and SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON. The English translation was made by the famous JOHANN REINHOLD FORSTER. Goethe used Riedesel's book on his trip through Sicily.

esting to Riedesel. "Ich übergehe die Gothische Mosaico-Arbeit, wovon die Sicilianer so viel Geschrei machen." Only a painting by "Monrealese" (1603–47) he deems worthy of favorable comment.

A few more words on the income of the city of Palermo, the price of bread, and topics of similar nature close his chapter on the chief town of the island. As he advances into the interior he finds more to attract his attention, for now Greek ruins often meet his eye. He goes to Segesta, Trapani, Marsala, the ruins of Selinus, Girgenti, etc. Riedesel, who ignored the Cathedral of Monreale, calls the comparatively insignificant Dome of Catania the finest church in Sicily for the characteristic reason that it is not overladen. In Catania he meets Prince Biscari, the famous scholar and patriot, the Maffei of Sicily.[1] From Catania Riedesel undertakes the ascent of Mount Ætna. The view from the top is so striking that even Riedesel bursts into rapture; and in true eighteenth-century style he appends reflections on human happiness and misery. In Taormina and Messina he takes cognizance of the antique remains, but says nothing vital. He closes his chapters on Sicily with a discussion of the character of the inhabitants. They are fiery, but have too little "Phlegma" to produce art of a superior character—a remark which could proceed only from a devotee of the Greeks. Riedesel does not share the general prejudice against the Sicilians, but considers them capable of heroism and stoicism. In the second part of the book, which deals with Magna Graecia (Reggio, Taranto, Gallipoli, Otranto, Lecce, etc.), his interest is again centered on the ancient ruins.

On the whole, the book, though very important in the history of Sicilian travel, is lacking in that power of

[1] We may mention that in 1781 appeared *Viaggio per tutte le Antichità della Sicilia descritto da Ignazio Paternò Principe di Biscari.* The book is animated by the author's warm admiration for his country. Though narrow in its scope, it found favor among travelers.

presentation which distinguished the work of Winckelmann, and is too rationalistic for a poetical interpretation.

After Riedesel had pointed the way, others followed, anxious to see with their own eyes what he had described; anxious, too, to fill the evident gaps that he had left.[1] Very few of these records, however, seem impelled by any genuine culture-instinct; all show, rather, the rationalistic desire for information. Thus the abate Domenico Sestini and Count Michel Jean de Borch[2] attempt to describe the geological structure and the flora and fauna of the island, and Sestini also the trades and manufactures. Another writer, who calls himself "Un Voyageur Italien,"[3] aims at a description of "les mœurs et l'histoire politique et littéraire de la Sicile, et des détails les plus exactes qu'on a pu recueillir sur son commerce."[4] The same spirit of information animates the *Journey through Sicily of Wm. Payne Knight*, a translation of which Goethe inserted in his life of Philipp Hackert.[5]

[1] Thus an Irishman named PATRICK BRYDONE wrote *Tour through Sicily and Malta* (London, 1773), which went through several editions and was translated into French several times, and also into German (1777, 1783). It is pleasantly written, but adds nothing of importance. Brydone also misses the *anima* of the island, and lacks even that profound love for antiquity which marks the German. He is interested in the manners and customs, and much impressed by Prince Biscari.

[2] SESTINI published *Lettere . . . . scritte dalla Sicilia e dalla Turchia . . . . Firenze 1779* (7 vols. This was known to Goethe; cf. Weimar ed., Vol. XXXI, p. 320). DE BORCH'S *Lettres sur la Sicile et sur l'isle de Malte, écrites en 1777 pour servir de supplément au Voyage de M. Brydone* (Turin, 1782), was translated into German in 1783. Almost synchronous with Borch is HENRY SWINBURNE'S *Travels in the Two Sicilies in the years 1777, 8, 9, & 1780* (London, 1783-85; 2d ed. in 1790; French translation in 1785; German translation by J. R. FORSTER, Hamburg, 1785-87; I know only this translation). He agrees with Riedesel in his interest in antiquity, but distances all his predecessors in point of care. His artistic tenets appear from the following: the Cathedral of Monreale "giebt eine sehr unangenehme Probe des gothischen Geschmacks."

[3] *Lettres sur la Sicile* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1778). His name is probably Emmanuele Visconti (British Museum Catalogue).

[4] A significant footnote in the book might well be quoted as betraying the contemporary of Voltaire and Lessing. The Saracens, he claims, "ne tyrannisèrent point la croyance et les opinions des habitans;" and he adds: "Est-ce sous de tels maîtres que nous devions apprendre l'humanité?"

[5] The manuscript is to be found in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar. Knight was in Sicily in 1777. He was interested in the various phenomena of the island, including its history. He is much attracted by antiquity, and often quotes ancient authors—a fact which won him the sympathy of Goethe.

So far the descriptions of Sicily have proved, on the whole, barren of imagination. Yet we know from such works as Adler's, Mrs. Piozzi's, and Dupaty's that travelers of the latter part of the eighteenth century felt strongly the impulse toward emotional vivacity. Two publications on Sicily, though noticeable for neither depth nor originality, mark the entrance of the new current into the descriptions of the island. The first of these, St. Non's *Voyage Pittoresque, ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, appeared in Paris in 1781–86.[1] This trip to Sicily was undertaken in 1778. The text is superficial, but the plates, though incorrect, are beautiful. The aim of the artists was evidently to introduce Sicily to the cultured as one of the enchanted spots of the earth. On that account the book must have acted as a powerful agent in the popularization of Sicily. Although love for the picturesque is the characteristic feature of these volumes, we find no appreciation of the mediæval monuments of the island.[2]

Almost simultaneous with de Non was *Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari, où l'on traite des Antiquités qui s'y trouvent encore; des principaux Phénomènes que la Nature y offre; des Costumes des Habitants,*

[1] The work is in five folio volumes and contains many plates. The "avant-propos" complains of the universal ignorance in regard to Calabria and Sicily. Were it not for a few recent publications—notably those by "Bridone" and "Ridzel"—Sicily "nous seroit encore aujourd'hui presque inconnue." By this time the desire to know the island had become so genuine that our author found several wealthy amateurs to help him in his expensive enterprise. Unfortunately, their enthusiasm later flagged, and St. Non had to sacrifice his fortune to finish his work. He was assisted by others in the composition of the text. Thus BARON DOMINIQUE VIVANT DE NON furnished almost the entire description of Sicily. As St. Non had cut down de Non's manuscript, the latter published it in full in the notes of the fourth volume of the French translation of Swinburne's *Travels* (Paris, 1786), and later as an independent work (*Voyage en Sicile et à Malte pour faire suite au Voyage de Swinburne* . . . . [Paris, 1788]; an English translation appeared in London in 1803). This work offers little of importance for our purpose.

[2] St. Non's work went through several editions, the last appearing in 1829. It was translated into English in 1789, and into German the same year and again in 1806. Almost every large library in Europe possesses at least one copy, and it may even be found in several collections in America.

et de quelques Usages, par Jean Houel, Peintre du Roi (Paris, 1782–87; four volumes in folio).[1] "Truth" is the watchword of this author. Hence he is fully justified in occasionally criticizing the incorrectness of St. Non's plates. Like this latter author, he has a keen eye for antiquity, but he shows much more interest than the abbé in the lives and customs of the lower classes. The *planches* in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* evidently influenced those of Houel's plates which deal with Sicilian tools and implements. The entire work is an exponent of that sympathy with the humble which had rapidly spread in literature since the appearance of Thompson's *Seasons*.[2]

All these publications prove to us beyond doubt that, when Goethe decided to risk a journey through Sicily, she had ceased to be the *terra incognita* that she was to Winckelmann.[3] That is to say, the geological structure, the fauna, the flora, the customs of the people, and especially the remains of antiquity had been studied with intelligent interest; and toward the last, the sense for nature, an emotional interpretation, and an interest in the lives of the humble had begun to enter into some of the descriptions of the island. The monuments of mediæval and Saracen art, however, were still unintelligible.

To determine in how far Goethe's method implied greater depth, though not greater breadth, will constitute one of the most fascinating phases of our investigation.

[1] The archæologist J. J. BARTHÉLEMY wrote *Instructions pour M. Houel sur son voyage de Naples et de Sicile*, reprinted in BARTHÉLEMY'S *Œuvres*, Vol. III, Première Partie (Paris, 1821). They contain nothing important for us.

[2] In consequence of the high ideals and manifold interests of the author, Houel's work was greatly esteemed by some of the best-qualified judges of the time. Goethe, too, refers to the work, but calls the author Howel.

[3] In addition to the travels discussed above, two more should at least be mentioned by name: FREDERIC MÜNTER'S *Efterretninger om begge Sizilierne, samlede . . . . i Aarene 1785–86*, appeared in Copenhagen in 1788; and JOH. HEINR. BARTELS' *Briefe über Kalabrien und Sizilien*, in Göttingen in 1787–92. Both writers are intelligent, but offer little of importance. Münter is the erratic person whom Goethe mentions meeting in Rome.

CHAPTER V

GOETHE'S "TAGEBÜCHER"

In order to appreciate the position of Goethe in the evolution of Italian travel, let us once more call to mind that in seventeenth-century descriptions Italy appears as little more than a storehouse of interesting curiosities; that the age of Rationalism found her important as a source of information, historical and scientific; that a generation before Goethe's trip there had been added the glories of Greek antiquity; and that just at the time of Goethe's entrance into the field there began—in the wake of the emotional upheaval that was sweeping over Europe—an appreciation of the picturesque in landscape and inhabitants, interest in the simple and the humble, and a tendency to translate one's personal impressions in exuberant lyrical phrase. Against this background, what does Goethe give us?

We have two records of Goethe's trip to the South: *Tagebücher und Briefe aus Italien an Frau von Stein und Herder*,[1] and the *Italienische Reise* (1816–17). The latter we shall take up in its own time after a survey of the most important descriptions of Italy that intervene. The former, in spite of its unsatisfactory condition, is so illuminating in regard to Goethe's method of observation that in our discussion it deserves fully as much attention as does the finished literary product known as the *Italienische Reise*.

[1] Published by Erich Schmidt in *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft* (Weimar 1886; for brevity we shall speak of this book as *Tagebücher*). This record is extremely fragmentary, as Goethe destroyed most of the notes taken in Italy (cf. Introduction pp. vii ff.). The views here expressed find corroboration and occasionally modification in other letters written at the time (cf. Weimar ed., IV. Abt., *Briefe*, VIII [Weimar, 1890]).

A superficial reading of the *Tagebücher* impresses one first of all with the fact that the Italy of Goethe is essentially the Italy of Rationalism. Thus Verona, to us of today one of the most poetical of the smaller towns of the peninsula, is an uninteresting settlement grouped about the amphitheater. This relic of antiquity Goethe visits frequently and describes in detail. It is evidently to him the most important human document to be seen before reaching Rome. S. Zeno, in which Heinse had at least exhibited interest, and the Arche degli Scaligeri do not appear in the picture. The little town, from Goethe's description, appears cold and void of atmosphere. No associations with Dietrich von Bern or with Dante come to mind. Vicenza, on the other hand, replete with reminiscences of the "divine" Palladio, seems far more interesting and important than Verona. Here the mind revels in works of inspiring grandeur. Of Padua, with its Giottos and its statue of Gattamelata by Donatello, he says merely: "nichts was mich recht herzlich gefreut hätte aber manches das gesehen zu haben gut ist."[1] Yet he views not without interest pictures by Titian, Paolo Veronese, Guercino, Piazetta, Tiepolo and (*mirabile dictu*) Mantegna.[2] Venice is to him a "grosser respectabler Anblick" and "das sonderbare, einzige Bild," "das menschlich interessanteste."[3] On the artistic side this interest rests entirely on (1) the scanty remnants of antiquity, such as the horses of St. Mark's, the antique pillars, and even the Farsetti collection of antique casts; (2) the works of Palladio, like the churches of S. Giorgio and the Redentore, and the Carità, which, though in a fragmentary condition, he pronounces "seines [Palladio's] himmlischen Genius wert;"[4] (3) the works of High Renaissance masters like Paolo Veronese, Titian, and Tintoretto. Lastly, the physical aspects of this

[1] *Tagebücher*, p. 108, ll. 6–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 110 ff.

[3] 120. 23; 179. 8; 218. 5.

[4] 132. 22.

peculiar town, such as the ebb and flood of the lagoons and the sea-life on the Lido, attract his intelligent observation.

As he proceeds on his way to the goal of his ardent desire (for Goethe pre-eminently belongs to the *Romam quaero* pilgrims), he passes through Ferrara, where he dutifully follows Volkmann's footsteps, with little comment, and stops at Cento. This unimportant town could detain a rationalistic traveler who had no time for Florence.[1] For in Cento was born Guercino, that favorite of Cochin and pet aversion of Ruskin, but in Goethe's opinion "ein innerlich braver männlich gesunder Mahler, ohne Roheit, vielmehr haben seine Sachen eine innerliche Moralische Grazie, eine schöne Freyheit und Grosheit."[2] Bologna, the home of the Carracci, Guido Reni, and their associates, occupies his attention for some time. S. Petronio, the great Gothic church in Bologna, finds of course no mention. Even the academic life, which attracted Andres and others, is crowded into the background by Goethe's profound interest in the Bolognese masters and Raphael's Cecilia.[3] Florence he passes by with slight comment in his hurry to reach Rome.[4] Of Perugia, with all its mediæval monuments and its Peruginos, he says: "In Perugia habe ich nichts gesehen, aus Zufall und Schuld."[5] He stops at Assissi, by no means to feast his eyes on the Giottos,[6] but to study the first representative of Greek architecture which he had had a chance to visit, the ruins of the Temple of Minerva.[7] He hastens through Terni, Spoleto, etc.; and at last reaches Rome on October 29, 1786.

Rome to Goethe is Rome without its catacombs, its mosaics, its older churches, its Early Renaissance remains—Sta. Maria

[1] "Ich habe eben einen Entschluss gefasst, der mich sehr beruhigt. Ich will nur durch Florenz durchgehen und grade auf Rom" (184. 22 ff.). On his way home, however, he examines the chief monuments of Florence, without special enthusiasm, to be sure, and speaks of them rather patronizingly (Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 371. 4 ff.).

[2] 183. 19–22. His ardent admiration for Guercino finds frequent and warm expression (cf. 182. 19 f.; 184. 6 ff.; etc.).

[3] 185. 12, 17; 187. 1 ff.; 188. 22. [4] 198. 13 ff. [5] 204. 12. [6] 204. 21 ff. [7] 204. 18 ff.

Trastevere, Sta. Agnese Fuori, the Masaccios, the Fra Angelicos, etc.—and is exclusively the seat of antiquity and of the High Renaissance.[1] To this rationalistic picture he adds, however, the fervor of the Hellenic cult which he had inherited from Winckelmann.[2] It is noteworthy that Goethe does not make a sharp distinction between Roman and Greek antiquity, although evidently the latter affects him more profoundly because of its superior refinement and the technical perfection of its greatest representatives.[3] But to him every phase of the antique civilization proves an element of uplift and of intellectual and artistic training.

Because of this combination in Goethe of Rationalism and the Winckelmann spirit, mysticism in all of its manifestations irritates him. Thus he is, when not blind, absolutely unjust to all art that reflects the mediæval temperament. This negative attitude not infrequently leads to a narrowness surprising in one generally so broad and humane. The language in which these judgments are couched is occasionally aggressive to an extent strange in one so conspicuous for poise. Thus he speaks with admiration of Cardinal Bembo as a man "der nicht gern in der Bibel las um seinen lateinischen Styl, wahrscheinlich auch um seine Imagination nicht zu verderben."[4] In the same spirit, in his visit to Assisi, he says of Sta. Maria della Minerva, somewhat flippantly: "Il Gran Convento und den geehrten . . . . geheiligten Galgenberg lies ich lincks liegen, sah des heil. Franziskus Grabstäte nicht, ich wollte mir wie der Cardinal Bembo die Immagination nicht verderben."[5] Particularly significant, perhaps, is the passage where he speaks of the legend of the Holy Virgin:

Es ist ein Gegenstand, vor dem einem die Sinne so schön still stehn, der eine gewisse innerliche Grazie der Dichtung hat, über den man sich so freut und bey dem man so ganz und gar nichts

[1] Cf. 213. 13 ff.; 218. 7 ff.; 219. 27 ff.; etc.

[2] Cf. 133. 3 ff.; 138. 26; 248. 12 ff.; 254. 13 ff.; 259. 16 ff.; 298. 20 ff.; etc.

[3] Cf. 190. 7 ff. [4] 110. 5 ff. [5] 204. 21 ff.

dencken kann; dass er so recht zu einem religiosen Gegenstande gemacht ist. . . . . Leider aber sind diese Gegenstände die Geissel der Mahler gewesen und Schuld dass die Kunst gesuncken ist, nach dem sie sich kaum erhoben hatte.[1]

And this only ten years before Wackenroder, the forerunner of Schlegel, of Rio, of Ruskin! The lack of historical sense implied in this rejection of the mediæval point of view causes him occasionally to drift into utterances on painting aud architecture foreign to the modern mind. He confesses: "Die Kirchen und Altarblätter kriegt man so satt dass man manches Gute übersieht."[2] His description of St. Mark's reminds one of de Brosses's frivolous joke on the Ducal Palace ("un vilain monsieur!"). Goethe says: "die Bauart ist jeden Unsinns werth der jemals drinne gelehrt oder getrieben worden seyn mag. ich pflege mir die Facade zum Scherz als einen kolossalen Taschenkrebs zu dencken."[3] The Ducal Palace is merely "das sonderbarste was der Menschen Geist glaub ich hervorgebracht hat."[4] S. Zeno, that venerable Romanesque structure, he brands as "dunckles Alterthum."[5] So biased, he naturally passes by without notice the beautiful mediæval Cathedral of Monreale,[6] and does not mention the side walls of the Sistine Chapel. His idea of the origin of the pillars of the Ducal Palace[7] reminds one of Vasari's naïve theory on the beginnings of mediæval architecture: "questa maniera fu trovata dai Goti, che . . . . fecero dopo coloro che rimasero le fabbriche di questa maniera."

So far, then, there is nothing new about Goethe's Italy. Rationalism plus Winckelmannism sum up all that we have sketched. Is it then possible that a man of so vast a mind could refrain from injecting originality into even fragmentary notes so hastily dashed off? Far from it. From the very

[1] 160. 13 ff.; other instances of his condemnation of the subjects of so-called sacred art are numerous; see 75. 4 ff., 188. 18 ff., etc.

[2] 106. 3 ff.

[3] 124. 11 ff.

[4] 124. 26 ff.

[5] 87. 10.

[6] 296.

[7] 125. 1 ff.

first page of the record we are startled by a method absolutely individual, vitally different in principle from the treatment both of Lalande and of Dupaty: we find neither a cataloguing of facts for their own sake nor mere explosion of sentiment. Goethe is the first traveler who attempts to understand various phenomena in Italy as products of forces. He is the first great representative of a temperament which, through the influence of science, was to become wide-spread. And, indeed, it was Goethe's profound interest in the methods employed in the various sciences which had so disciplined his mind that he was able to eliminate from his judgments, in large measure at least, the subjective element, and to think always in terms of cause and effect. What he says in Rome in regard to his study of art might be taken as a motto for his entire journey: "Ich lasse mir nur alles entgegen kommen und zwinge mich nicht dies oder jens in dem Gegenstande zu finden. Wie ich die Natur betrachtet, betrachte ich nun die Kunst."[1] We may call this the *deterministic* method, as opposed to the *descriptive* of Lalande and the *lyrical* of Dupaty.[2] He rejoices in the fact that his study of science controls his manner of viewing all phenomena: "Dass ich in der letzten Zeit die Natur so eifrig und gründlich studirte hilft mir auch jetzt in der Kunst."[3] And it is quite consist-

[1] 240. 8 ff.; cf. also Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 268. 3 ff.

[2] It is to be remembered how intense was Goethe's interest in science before his departure from Weimar, and how close his association with Herder, who at the time was writing his *Ideen*. In the first books of the *Ideen* a conception of the world is unfolded in which man is understood as an organic part of the physical universe. The *Tagebücher* bear the imprint on every page of ideas akin to the principles of the *Ideen*. Hence, Goethe's records form an organic chapter in the geographico-scientific movement of the late eighteenth century. They may be said to bear to Italian travel much the same relation as do the *Ideen* to the geographical literature of the time. There is, however, a great difference between Goethe's method of procedure and that of Herder. To quote Kühnemann: "bei Goethe der Allzusammenhang .... objektiv-wissenschaftlich, ... bei Herder der Allzusammenhang metaphysisch-religiös" (cf. KÜHNEMANN'S introduction to the edition of HERDER'S *Ideen* in *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vol. LXX, p. cxxvi).

[3] 244. 6 ff. It is observable that in Rome his attention becomes more and more exclusively turned to art, to the neglect of science. It may be a mere chance, yet is interesting, that here in one instance he reverses the usual order of comparison, and

ent with this method that he aims to attain a better artistic comprehension by acquainting himself with the materials which the sculptor uses,[1] and with the laws of anatomy and perspective.[2] He consciously strives for objectivity from the very beginning of his trip. From Trent he writes:

> Mir ists nur jetzt um die sinnlichen Eindrücke zu thun, die mir kein Buch und kein Bild geben kann, ... dass ich meinen Beobachtungsgeist versuche, und auch sehe wie weit es mit meinen Wissenschafften und Kenntnissen geht, ob und wie mein Auge licht rein und hell ist.[3]

From Vicenza he tells of his efforts to live quietly, "damit die Gegenstände keine erhöhte Seele finden, sondern die Seele erhöhen"[4]—a very different attitude from Dupaty's somewhat hysterical emotionality. In Rome he writes:

> Meine Uebung alle Dinge wie sie sind zu sehen und zu lesen, meine Treue das Auge Licht seyn zu lassen, meine völlige Entäusserung von aller Prätention, machen mich hier höchst im Stillen glücklich.[5]

In his observations of the human and natural phenomena in Italy, Goethe is rarely satisfied with merely recording the actual fact; instinctively his mind gropes about for the cause that produced the fact. For this reason, the entire physical world stimulates in him the spirit of research: meteorological changes, the structure of the earth, the flora, the fauna, and —though less consistently—man.

uses art as the norm with which he compares nature: "Es ist mit den natürlichen Dingen wie mit der Kunst, es ist so viel darüber geschrieben und wenn man sie sieht, lässt sich doch wieder eine neue Kombination machen" (276. 16 ff.).

[1] 345. 7 ff.

[2] 260. 11; cf. also letter dated January 25, 1788 (Weimar ed., *Briefe*, VIII, p. 329).

[3] 45. 18 ff.

[4] 102. 8 ff. Cf. also letter dated December 23, 1786, from Rome: "Wenn es nun darauf ankommt, die Sachen um ihrer selbst willen zu sehen . . . . das Gebildete und Hervorgebrachte nicht nach dem Effeckt den es auf uns macht, sondern nach seinem innern Werthe zu beurtheilen; dann fühlt man erst wie schwer die Aufgabe ist" (Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 96. 18 ff.; cf. also *ibid.*, 292. 10 ff.).

[5] 321. 9 ff. Other passages might be quoted showing the same aim; e. g., 94. 17 ff.; 151. 12 ff., etc.

At first blush the reader is perplexed at the frequency and thoroughness of Goethe's discussions of the weather, until he realizes the logical connection between this interest and Goethe's entire scheme of travel. The first striking instance is: "Note a. Gedancken über die Witterung,"[1] where he tries to make clear to his own mind the causes of the meteorological conditions which he observed on his way from Karlsbad to the Alps. This note is supplemented by scattered remarks during the trip to the Brenner.[2] This interest continues on the journey across the Alps in northern Italy,[3] until at last it is crowded into the background by his growing devotion to artistic studies.

Closely allied to Goethe's weather observations is his attention to the mineralogical structure of the countries through which he passes. Not only does he at the very beginning of his journey discuss the composition of the soil near Eger[4] and in Bavaria,[5] in the Alps[6] and in northern Italy,[7] in Bologna[8] and in Terni,[9] and even in the country just before Rome;[10] but, more remarkable still, in the midst of his complex life in Rome he theorizes on the importance of seeing Ætna in order the better to understand the nature of volcanoes.[11] In Naples and Sicily the geological interest seems to have reached its climax.[12]

In spite of his disclaimer, "die Pflanzen betreffend fühl ich noch sehr meine Schülerhaftigkeit,"[13] Goethe scatters

[1] 29 ff.

[2] 13. 12 ff.; 16. 12 ff.; 21. 1 ff.; 22. 4 ff., etc.

[3] 58. 1 ff.; 86. 16 ff.; 131. 26 ff.; 179. 18 ff.; 210. 10 ff.

[4] 13. 19 ff. [5] 14. 5 ff. [6] 59 ff.

[7] "Verzeichniss der mitgenommenen Steine," 87 f.

[8] 193 f. [9] 210. 20. [10] 212; 214. [11] 276. 12 ff.

[12] 289 ff.; 296. 12 ff.; 297. 25 ff. And yet he writes, May 24, 1788: "In Rom wurde kein Stein mehr angesehen wenn er nicht gestaltet war. Die Form hatte allen Anteil an der Materie verdrängt" (Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 376. 16 ff.). That this mood was but ephemeral, however, is proved by the very next line of the same passage: "Jetzt wird eine Crystallisation schon wieder wichtig und ein unförmlicher Stein zu etwas."

[13] 33. 19 f.

throughout his notes illuminating remarks on botany, implying keen observation and the deterministic method. Near Munich he philosophizes on the effect of moisture on plant life.[1] In Venice he remarks on the influence of salt air and salt water on the character of certain plants.[2] The most notable feature of his botanical studies is, however, to be found in the fact that Italy was to bring to consummation his important theory on the development of plant life, later laid down in *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*.[3] His joy at his growing insight becomes evident in various passages. In Padua he writes: "Schöne Bestätigungen meiner botanischen Ideen hab' ich wieder gefunden. Es wird gewiss kommen und dringe noch weiter."[4] In Rome he continues his "botanischen Spekulationen,"[5] and soon he exclaims exultantly: "Sage Herdern dass ich dem Geheimniss der Pflanzenzeugung und Organisation ganz nah bin und dass es das einfachste ist was nur gedacht werden kann."[6]

The fauna of Italy receives comparatively little attention. Near Venice he notices "die Wirthschaft der Seeschnecken, Patellen, etc."[7] Here he exclaims: "Was ist doch ein lebendiges, für ein köstlich herrliches Ding. Wie abgemessen zu seinem Zustande, wie wahr! wie seyend! Und wieviel hilft mir mein bischen Studium und wie freu ich mich es fortzusetzen!"[8] showing the same deterministic manner of observation as with the flora.[9]

This adequate method, so suggestive and intellectual, which in large measure helps to give Goethe's notes their peculiar vitality, the author in many cases applies to his

[1] 34. 6 ff. [2] 150. 24 ff.

[3] In this connection cf. *Geschichte meines botanischen Studiums*, Hempel, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff., especially pp. 70, 71; cf. also Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 268. 7 ff.

[4] 114. 8 ff. [5] 232. 16 f.

[6] 311. 1 ff. For further proof of interest in the flora cf. 276. 5 ff.; 286. 20 ff.; 296 ff., etc., etc.

[7] 166. 9 ff. [8] 166. 11 ff. [9] Cf. also 298. 17 ff.

discussion of human life. At times he, like most of his predecessors, merely describes the human spectacle as he sees it about him.[1] Of this nature is the charming episode of the meeting with the harper and his daughter, who seem like proto-

[1] Almost all the books on Italy which so far we have had occasion to discuss have dealt more or less frequently with the manners and customs of the people. There were many others, however, which had this subject for their sole purpose. The method pursued in them all is essentially the descriptive one. A perusal of the most important will enable us further to appreciate how intense was the interest shown by the eighteenth century in all that pertained to Italy, and will prove to us that Goethe, though he adds little or nothing to the information of his time, injects a new spirit into the treatment of familiar material. Significantly, the records of the earlier half of the century deal with the life of the upper classes. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was several times in Italy between 1718 and 1758, and more than once resided there for a considerable period. Though as the wife of Lord Montagu she had access to the highest circles of Italian society, with her the purely social interest never crowded into the background sympathy with every form of intellectual and artistic effort. She was in Italy long and often enough to note the growing influence of France. Far less attractive is GUIOT DE MERVILLE'S *Voyage historique d'Italie: contenant des recherches exactes sur le gouvernement, les mœurs, etc.* (1729). In pleasant, superficial fashion he passes in review the life of the aristocracy in Genoa, notes the sobriety and industry of the Sienese, the government of Florence, and the Papal court in Rome. His book, which takes almost no cognizance of the art treasures of Italy, forms an interesting complement to the more purely aesthetic comments on the country.—Sounder and maturer is the description of Italy contained in the *Mémoires* of BARON PÖLLNITZ (Liège, 1734; followed by the *Nouveaux Mémoires*, Frankfort, 1738). The author was a famous adventurer, and gives many valuable glimpses of men and manners of the peninsula. Though impressed with the gaiety and glamor of Venice, he is not blind to her decay. Bologna, with her opera, her theaters, her fine galleries, her hospitable nobility, he pronounces the most agreeable Italian town for strangers. The fascination of Florence is lost on him, but he describes an interview with the last of the Medici. In Rome he tells much of the newly created Pope (Clemens XII, elected to the pontifical chair in 1730). But he pronounces the town decidedly provincial, not a good fencing-master to be found in it!—In contrast with LADY MONTAGU'S *Letters*, which exhibited an interest almost equally divided between the aesthetic and the social sides of the life she saw, those of MME. DU BOCAGE, contained in Vol. III of her collected works (Lyons, 1764), exhibit little delight save in the *frou-frou* of silken trains and the melody of high-sounding titles. This sprightly lady, whose literary fame and social prominence introduced her to the best circles, is not, indeed, quite indifferent to art, but trite and conventional in her judgments. Her letters are perhaps the best reflection of Italy as conceived in the minds of the society over which presided Mme. de Pompadour.—Severe but always dignified is the account of Italy found in the *Voyage en Italie, ou Considérations sur l'Italie*, by DUCLOS (Paris, 1791). This prominent littérateur—a curious, but for the time most characteristic, combination of charlatan and *homme sérieux*, the author of *Considérations sur les mœurs de ce siècle* (1750), very popular at their time—was in the peninsula in 1766 ff. He became acquainted with many prominent people, among them Clement XIII (Rezzonico) and the king of Naples. He criticizes the papal government and the class demarkations. On the other hand, he has great respect for the king and the government of Sardinia. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, he teaches us to look upon Italy neither with the eyes of a lover nor with those of the cynic. (On Duclos cf. STE. BEUVE, *Causeries du Lundi*, Vol. IX, pp. 204 ff., espe

types of Mignon and her father.[1] Often his description is as lively and gay as the people whom he depicts.[2] His interest in the new types and the unfamiliar customs is unflagging. Thus he remarks upon the improvisatori,[3] the public debates in Venice;[4] the market folk;[5] the appearance of the nobili at a church ceremony;[6] the fishermen's wives singing at eventide.[7] The gaiety of the carnival cannot blind him to the pitiable condition of the people.[8] As an example of the lively and sympathetic manner of describing an Italian street scene, we may quote in full his account of one of the Roman religious feasts:

Es hatte die Nacht Eis gefroren, der Tag war heiter und warm Bey der Kirche des Heiligen werden Pferde, Ochsen, Esel geweiht, welches ein lustig Spektakul ist. Die Thiere sind an Köpfen und

cially pp. 256 ff.)—JOHN MOORE, in *A View of Society and Manners in Italy; with Anecdotes relating to some eminent Characters*, adds little new, but gives a great mass of detail. (I know only the third edition, London, 1783.) From Moore we learn of the brilliancy of the assemblies given by Sir William Hamilton, the English representative in Naples, and his beautiful wife. He notes the strong French influence on Italian manners. He contrasts pleasantly with many of his countrymen by the objectivity with which he treats of Italian institutions, even cicisbeismo. Like Goethe, he has a kindly word for the lazzaroni.—Information both valuable and interesting on life in Florence during a large part of the eighteenth century is to be found in the letters of Horace Mann, the English representative at the court of Florence (cf. "*Mann" and Manners at the Court of Florence 1740–1786: Founded on the letters of Horace Mann to Horace Walpole*, by DR. DORAN, F.S.A. [London, 1876; 2 vols.]). Mann was originally sent to Florence to watch over the sayings and doings of the "Pretender" in Italy. In time he and Sir William Hamilton became the most prominent English residents in Italy. In his letters we have a lively picture of society in Florence, whither even 150 years ago people flocked from all countries, especially England.—Upon the caliber of the intellectual life of the English colony of Florence at that time, interesting light is thrown by two little publications: "*The Arno Miscellany: Being a Collection of fugitive Pieces written by Members of a Society called the Oziosi at Florence* (Rome, 1784); and *The Florentine Miscellany* (Florence, 1785; ridiculed in GIFFORD'S *Maeviad and Baeviad*). Both are collections of English poems written by English residents in Florence. Among the contributors mentioned in the advertisement of the latter is MRS. PIOZZI.

[1] 23. 11 ff.; cf. also 36. 10 ff. [2] 45. 4 ff.; 86. 1 ff.

[3] 127. 23 ff. [4] 134. 9 ff. [5] 126. 5 ff. [6] 154. 9 ff. [7] 158. 9 ff.

[8] 282. 1 ff.; 347. 23 ff. It is interesting in this connection to observe that this festival, which, subjectively considered, rather irritates him, becomes of interest as soon as he looks on it with the eye of the objective observer (cf. letter dated Rome, January 26, 1788 [Weimar ed., *Briefe*, VIII, 338]; also Rome, February 16, 1788 [*ibid.*, 351]). In this spirit also he describes the feast in a separate treatise under the name *Das römische Karneval* (1789; cf. Hempel, Vol. XVI, pp. 299 ff.).

Schwänzen mit Bändern geputzt man bringt die Thiere vor einer kleinen Kapelle vorbey, wo ein Priester mit einem grossen Wedel versehen, das Wasser nicht spart und auf die Thiere lossprizt. Andächtige Kutscher bringen Kerzen und erhalten dagegen geweihte Bildchen, die Herrschafften schicken Almosen und Geschencke.[1]

We feel that what he says near the beginning of his journey is true of each day: "Zu meiner Weltschöpfung habe ich manches erobert."[2] In many other cases, however, he tries, in the spirit of the scientific observer, to make clear to himself the causes of the phenomena before him. At the very outset the site of Regensburg makes him feel: "Die Gegend musste eine Stadt hierher locken."[3] For the inferior physique of the inhabitants of northern Italy his deterministic method suggests the cause: "ich suchte die Ursache und glaubte sie im Gebrauch des Mays und des Haiden zu finden."[4] Most interestingly is this objectivity illustrated by his careful study of the Italian method of dividing the day.[5] Instead of inveighing against the inconvenience thus arising to foreigners, he seeks the cause for this national custom, rejoices to find it in the very nature of the people,[6] and concludes: "Man würde dem Volck sehr viel nehmen wenn man ihm den deutschen Zeiger aufzwänge, oder vielmehr man kann und soll dem Volck nichts nehmen was so intrinsec mit seiner Natur verwebt ist."[7] We have seen that, from the artistic side, Venice means but little to him. But the site of the city sets him thinking, and soon he has the cause of the peculiarity of the situation clearly outlined in his mind;[8] and the sea-republic as the result of the work of a whole people, not of one ruler, appeals to his imagination.[9] Similarly, Rome calls up to his mind the vision of its founders and the reasons for their choosing precisely this spot for their city.[10]

1 261. 1 ff.
2 26. 22.
3 15. 5 f.
4 62. 11 ff.
5 83 ff.
6 85. 7 ff.
7 85. 25 ff.
8 121. 19 ff.
9 123. 23 ff.; 137. 23 ff.
10 270. 19 ff.

Nor is Goethe's method fruitful of merely intellectual results. It leads to a wonderful humaneness in his judgments. This breadth of view becomes apparent very early in his journey. Although the Catholic *Weltanschauung* was essentially antipodal to his own, he appreciates the wisdom and the adequacy of the Jesuit organization.[1] Unlike the petty critics of Italy, he does not see mere laziness in the manifestation of the care-free spirit of the people.[2] Even the uncleanness, often so shocking to the northern traveler, he explains from that spirit as engendered and encouraged by the climate.[3] In the children and the common people he sees the best characteristics of the nation. With them he puts himself into direct communication and finds "eine recht gute Nation."[4] He appreciates how difficult it is for foreigners to reach any maturity of judgment.

Wie moralisch heilsam ist mir es dann auch, unter einem ganz sinnlichen Volcke zu leben, über das so viel Redens und Schreibens ist, das jeder Fremde nach dem Maasstabe beurtheilt den er mitbringt. Ich verzeihe jedem der sie tadelt und schilt, sie stehen zu weit von uns ab und als Fremder mit ihnen zu verkehren ist beschwerlich und kostspielig.[5]

Of Naples he says:

Wenn man diese Stadt nur in sich selbst und recht im Detail ansieht und sie nicht mit einem nordisch moralischen Polizey Maasstab ansieht; so ist es ein grosser herrlicher Anblick und du weisst dass dieses eben meine Manier ist.[6]

[1] 15. 19 ff.; 16. 23 ff. [2] 53. 18 ff. [3] 76. 19 ff. [4] 98. 16 ff.; 100. 7 ff.

[5] 355. 3 ff.; cf. also Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 272. 8 ff.

[6] 302. 22 ff. In contrast with Goethe's largeness and humaneness of judgment appear the criticisms of a number of travelers among his contemporaries, whose aim seems to have been not so much to derive pleasure and profit from their journey to Italy, as to ferret out the flaws and shortcomings of the country and its people. The first of these is ALEXANDER DRUMMOND. His *Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece*, etc. (London, 1751) exhibit rich insular jingoism. The Florentine ladies whom he meets at the house of Horace Mann are as inferior to the Englishwomen whom one meets at such assemblies "as a crew of female Laplanders are to the fairest dames in Florence." Cicisbeismo, that most shocking and puzzling custom to all eighteenth-century travelers in Italy, disgusts our Briton.—Bitterness and cynicism are the determining features of a unique collection of letters entitled

This same method shows here and there in a field which

L'Espion Chinois, ou l'Envoyé secret de la Cour de Pékin pour examiner l'état présent de l'Europe: Traduit du Chinois (Cologne, 1764; 6 vols.; English translation, London, 1765; I know only this latter). The author, ANGE GOUDAR, is supposed to have been helped by the notorious CASANOVA (cf. the latter's *Mémoires* ["nouvelle édition," Paris, *s. a.*], Vol. VI, p. 502). Goudar attacks the character of the people, the government, and the customs of almost every state in Italy. Especially did the public morality and the government of Venice seem execrable to him. The life of this city he describes as "a round of voluptuousness and frivolous amusements . . . . The whole city is a gaudy scene of shows," while "fear, suspicion and distrust are the basis of this government." In Bologna the corruption of public morality is even worse: "Six hours of the day are spent in praying, eight in singing, and ten in prostitution." The wickedness of Rome is beyond belief, it disgraces human nature.—Nearly contemporaneous with the "Chinese Spy" is an account of social Italy almost equally severe, but less offensive because more truly critical, in SAMUEL SHARP'S *Letters from Italy, describing the Customs and Manners of that Country. In the years 1765 and 1766* (I used the 3d ed., London, *s. a.*; 1 vol.). Sharp was a famous English surgeon and a friend of Voltaire, whom he visited at Ferney on his way to Italy. He disclaims any intention of describing statues, pictures, etc., as that had often been done before. Like Goudar, he sees in Venice nothing but a hotbed of corruption and a tyrannical government. Of Rome we read: "The narrowness of the streets, the thinness of the inhabitants, the prodigious quantity of Monks and beggars, give but a gloomy aspect to this renowned city." With this misery of modern Rome he contrasts the glories of the ancient ruins. He even misses true love for music, and considers the drama extremely inferior. Traveling is made very difficult by the wretchedness of the accommodations. In protest against this cavil, GIUSEPPE BARETTI, an Italian residing in London and a friend of Johnson, published *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy: With Observations on the Mistakes of some Travelers, with Regard to that Country* (London, 1768; I am acquainted only with the German translation, Breslau, 1781). Sharp felt impelled to defend his position in *A view of the Customs, Manners, Drama, etc. of Italy, as they are described . . . . by Mr. Baretti with the letters from Italy written by Mr. Sharp* (London, 1768). Baretti rejoined in *An Appendix to the Account of Italy, in answer to Samuel Sharp Esq.* (London, 1768). This tempest in a teapot seems, however, to have left some impression. Thus Knebel wrote to Herder, November 7, 1788 (cf. *Von und an Herder: Ungedruckte Briefe aus Herders Nachlass*, hsg. von H. DÜNTZER und F. G. HERDER, Vol. III, p. 43), that he is reading BARETTI'S *Briefe über Italien*, especially because they annihilate "einen gewissen Engländer Sharp." This interest is to be accounted for partly by the fact that Baretti was a writer of some note and one of the first critics to oppose Voltaire's estimate of Shakespeare (cf. L. MORANDI, *Voltaire contro Shakspeare; Baretti contro Voltaire* [Rome, 1882]; J. SCHUMANN, "Baretti als Kritiker Voltaires," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. LXIX [1883], p. 469). Lessing often mentions Baretti in his Italian diary.—More interesting, because of the fame of the author, is SMOLLETT'S *Travels through France and Italy*, etc. (2 vols.; London, 1766). The writer's ill-health during this period perhaps explains the atrabiliousness of his criticisms. Quarrels with postilions and innkeepers occupy a large space in his book. Even the most splendid monuments of art fail to mitigate his discontent. To Michael Angelo's "Pietà" in St. Peter's he objects because it represents a naked man lying in the lap of a woman. The Pantheon is to him "a cockpit open at top." The Colosseum, he points out, has been dismantled by "Gothic Popes" and modern princes to adorn their paltry palaces. Yet he is not altogether insensible to the atmosphere of Pisa and to the beauties of nature. The unfair harshness of Smollett's criticisms amused and irritated LAURENCE STERN, who ridicules Smollett in his *Sentimental Journey* in the chapter entitled "In the street, Calais" as the "learned Smelfungus;" cf., too, E. SCHUYLER, *Italian Influences* (New

at this time seems to have been comparatively foreign

York, 1901), chapter on "Smollett in Search of Health."—Not much fairer, and even more superficial, is the *Voyages en differens Pays de l'Europe; en 1774, 1775, 1776: Ou lettres écrites de l'Allemagne, de la Suisse, de l'Italie, de Sicile, et de Paris* (2 vols.; The Hague, 1777). The author, PILATI, also objects to the luxuriousness of the Venetians, the decay of modern Rome, etc., and hardly notices the monuments of art.—Much more bitter than Pilati is J. W. VON ARCHENHOLTZ in his *England und Italien* (Leipzig, 1785). Archenholtz was a Prussian army officer and the author of a history of the Seven Years' War. The first half of his book on England and Italy (of which I know only the edition of Carlsruhe, 1791) proves him one of the representatives of that profound admiration for England which animated so many Germans in the eighteenth century, and to which German literature, in part at least, owes its rejuvenation. The contrast between the vigor and health of political and moral life in England and the decay of both in Italy renders him blind to every element of superiority in the latter country. Thus he says of Rome, which almost at the same time was proving of such tremendous inspiration to Goethe: "Kein Ort in der Welt stellt ein solches Bild der Traurigkeit dar als Rom;" and further: "dennoch aber bilden diese Wunder der Kunst kein hinreissendes Ganze." He compares Corilla, the famous poetess and improvisatrice, with "die Karschin," and concludes that the latter is infinitely greater. No wonder Goethe calls Archenholtz' book "so ein Geschreibe!" (*Italienische Reise* under date of December 2, 1786; cf. Hempel ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 133), and regards the author as much too incompetent to judge. C. J. JAGEMANN, librarian in Weimar, even felt impelled to publish an "Ehrenrettung Italiens wider die Anmerkungen des Herrn Hauptmanns von Archenholtz," in the *Deutsche Museum* for May, 1786. In turn Archenholtz protested against Jagemann in the second edition of his book, thus making Italy for the second time the object of a sterile literary quarrel.—While Smollett's and Archenholtz' exaggerations and acerbities are in a sense amusing, it is pathetic to observe that HERDER, who in some respects seems so well qualified—especially because of his strong historic sense—to appreciate the importance of Italy, should rarely rise above the level of these petty cavilers. His letters written from Italy to his wife, edited by DÜNTZER and F. G. VON HERDER as *Herders Reise nach Italien: Herders Briefwechsel mit seiner Gattin, von Aug. 1788 bis Juli 1789* (Giessen, 1859), only show us how petty a great man can be. In the Rome of Goethe he is vexed: "Goethe spricht über Rom, wie ein Kind, und hat auch, wie ein Kind, freilich mit aller Eigenheit, hier gelebet; desshalb ers denn auch so sehr preiset." Where Goethe found only inspiration and stimulus, Herder says: "Rom erschlafft die Geister, wie man selbst an den meisten hiesigen Künstlern siehet . . . . es ist ein Grabmahl des Alterthums, in welchem man sich gar zu bald an ruhige Träume . . . . gewöhnt." Compared with Naples, which he admires, he calls Rome "eine Mördergrube," and finally says: "Rom ist mir ein todtes Meer, und die Blasen, die darauf emporsteigen, um bald zu zerknallen, sind für mich nicht erfreulich." But, though thus lacking in æsthetic appreciation, his historic sense saves him from being altogether blind to the cultural influences of Italy. In Florence he exclaims: "Hier sind . . . . doch wenigstens Fusstritte von Menschen, von grossen Menschen alter Zeiten, die alle auf diesem Punkt gelebt und gewirkt haben." And Herder, one of the discoverers of Shakespeare, is impressed by the power of Michael Angelo. In Pisa he exclaims at the "alte heilige Anfänge der Kunst." Even Rome, which means so little to him from the purely artistic standpoint, stimulates his historic imagination. Thus he writes to Knebel that in Rome you see "Ægypten, Griechenland, den alten römischen Staat, das Juden- und endlich das päpstliche Christenthum durch alle Zeiten. Wer nur Augen und Zeit hätte, alles zu finden, alles zu erfassen und zu ordnen" (Rome, December 13, 1788; cf. *Knebels lit. Nachlass in Briefen*, edited by VARNHAGEN VON ENSE and THEODOR MUNDT [Leipzig, 1840], Vol. II, p. 246). Few, if any, before him had so completely grasped the historic import of Rome. HAYM

to Goethe—the field of history.[1] He writes to Herder from Rome: "Ich freue mich sehr dir auch in der Geschichte entgegen zu kommen. Denn was du durch die Gewalt des Geistes aus der Ueberlieferung zusammen greifst, das muss ich nach meiner Art aus jeder Himmelsgegend, von Bergen, Hügeln und Flüssen zusammschleppen."[2] Occasionally he betrays insight into the growth of institutions, as, for instance, of the Propaganda in Rome.[3]

Had Goethe shown as much intellectual hospitality in his judgments of the various phases of art; had he been willing, in other words, consistently to apply his deterministic method in the province of æsthetics, he would have broken through the Winckelmann-Mengs formula.[4] It may seem like cavil to emphasize the insufficiency of artistic insight in a work intellectually so adequate as are these *Tagebücher*. Yet precisely because on almost every page the originality of the author and the wide grasp of his mind arouse our admiration, we the more keenly regret the lack of originality

points out (*Herder*, Vol. II, pp. 406 ff.), that because of Herder's slightly developed instinct for sensuous beauty, the charm of Italy was lost on him, while his strongly developed moral sense was frequently offended by what he saw. We may add to this excellent criticism that his feeling for the evolution of history saved his depiction of the country from being merely negative. (Cf. in this connection *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben Johann Gottfrieds von Herder . . . . hsg. durch J. G. Müller* [Tübingen, 1820], Part II; and Herder's poems on Italy: "Parthenope," "Angedenken an Neapel," and "Stanzen." In the first-mentioned poem much reflection is coupled in characteristic manner with the description of the beauties of Naples. Cf. also ZEHENDER, *Herders italienische Reise*, Programm, Zürich, 1882.)

[1] His originally weak historical sense was, however, strengthened by his sojourn in Italy. He writes from Rome: "Wenn man so eine Existenz ansieht die 2000 Jahr und drüber alt ist, durch die Wechsel der Zeiten so mannigfaltig und von Grund aus verändert, und doch noch derselbe Boden, derselbe Berg, ia oft, dieselbe Säule und Mauer, und im Volcke noch die Spuren des alten Caracktere; so wird man ein Mitgenosse der grossen Rathschlüsse des Schicksals" (322. 3 ff.; cf. also 167. 16 ff.; 343. 23 ff.; 333. 7 f.; also Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 57. 17 ff.).

[2] 339. 4 ff.

[3] 340. 24 ff.

[4] He was not entirely unaware of his lack in this direction. Thus he writes in Rome: "Die Fähigkeit ähnliche Verhältnisse zu entdecken, wenn sie auch noch so weit auseinander liegen, und die Genesen der dinge aufzuspüren hilft mir auch hier auserordentlich, und wenn ich Zeit hätte alle Kunstwercke mir recht zu vergegenwärtigen und sie alsdann mit einander zu vergleichen, wollte ich ohne grosse Gelehrsamkeit der Geschichte der Kunst manchen Vorteil bringen" (332. 5 ff.; cf. also 144. 4 ff.; and Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 97. 16 ff. and 223. 15 ff.).

implied in his attitude toward mediæval and Early Renaissance art. It was reserved for the nineteenth century to prove that every temperament must and should produce its own artistic expression. Goethe was too apt to rank artists according to their ability to adopt the Greek ideal.[1] Hence Gothic churches and Early Renaissance paintings were to him aberrations and monstrosities. We have seen that in the very choice of his route and in the objects he noticed he exhibited a rationalistic bias and almost complete dependence on Winckelmann and Mengs.[2]

Sometimes Goethe does apply the deterministic method even in his criticisms of art and artists, and then he reaches independence of judgment. Thus, on looking at Raphael's "Cecilia," he says:

> Um ihn [Raphael] zu erkennen, ihn recht zu schätzen, und ihn auch wieder nicht als einen Gott zu preisen, der wie Melchisedech ohne Vater und Mutter erschiene muss man seine Vorgänger, seinen Meister ansehn. Diese haben auf dem festen Boden der Wahrheit Grund gefasst, sie haben die breiten Fundamente, emsig, ja ängstl. gelegt, sie haben mit einander wetteifernd die Pyramide stufenweise in die Höhe gebracht, bis zu letzt er, von allen diesen Vortheilen unterstützt, von einem himmlischen Genius erleuchtet die Spitze der Pyramide, den letzten Stein aufsetzte, über dem kein andrer, neben dem kein andrer stehn kann.[3]

From this method flows his interest—purely historical rather than æsthetically appreciative—in Francia and Perugino.[4] His rather cool comments on these artists were dictated by *Kunstverstand* rather than by our modern *Kunstgefühl.* His admiration for Mantegna[5] is due to the fact that in

[1] For a good instance of such valuation cf. his extravagant praise of Palladio (135. 19 ff.); cf. HEUSLER, *Goethe und die italienische Kunst* (Basel, 1891); also VOLBEHR, *Goethe und die bildende Kunst* (Leipzig, 1895). (For Goethe's contempt for Rembrandt cf. Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 304. 15).

[2] But not on Volkmann, as has been shown by HAARHAUS, *Auf Goethes Spuren in Italien* (Leipzig, 1896 ff.), *passim;* and by HEUSLER, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

[3] 187. 4 ff. Cf. VON KLENZE, "Growth of Interest," p. 23.

[4] Cf. 187. 21 ff.

[5] 114. 17 ff.

him he discovers one of the older masters who is free from that mysticism which he found so irritating. Hence he exclaims:

> Was in den Bildern für eine scharfe sichre Gegenwart ist lässt sich nicht ausdrucken. von dieser ganzen, wahren, (nicht scheinbaren, Effecktlügenden, zur Imagination sprechenden) derben reinen, lichten, ausführlichen gewissenhaften, zarten, umschriebenen Gegenwart, die zugleich etwas strenges, emsiges, mühsames hatte gingen die folgenden aus, ... erleuchtet von dem Geiste der Alten.

Here the idea of evolution in art and the constant veneration for the Greeks as the creators of all art-norms are apparent.[1]

Naturally a traveler in so intellectual and critical a mood as was Goethe would be unlikely to notice, or at least to emphasize, those picturesque features which to Moritz and Mrs. Piozzi seemed essential, and which, during a large part of the nineteenth century, attracted the almost exclusive attention of the poets and prose-writers. Goethe therefore rarely speaks of the picturesqueness of Roman ruins;[2] of Venetian canals; of the streets of Naples (of these he says: "Das bunte Leben ist meine Sache nicht");[3] or even of beautiful scenery, such as the falls of Tivoli, over which the more romantic writers are never tired of exclaiming. Not that he is insensible to the effects of light and shade, or to the "atmosphere" of places. He describes with much feeling the reflection of moonlight, the fire from Vesuvius, and the lamplight on the Bay of Naples;[4] and once at least he is impressed with that gaiety of Venetian street-life which so strongly affected all travelers of the eighteenth century.[5] The ruins of the temple at Segesta seem to put him in a

[1] As further evidence we may quote Tischbein, who speaks of Goethe's rapture over a picture by Mantegna representing a sleeping girl and a shepherd — a subject which certainly is not mystical (cf. 440. 5 ff.).

[2] The Colosseum he sees in the twilight, but only its size seems to impress him (324. 3 ff.). We can imagine how Moritz or Dupaty would have reveled in the romantic scene.

[3] 307. 8 f. [4] 308. 7 ff. [5] 154. 13 ff.

poetical mood: "Der Wind sauste in den Säulen wie in einem Walde und Raubvögel schwebten schreyend über die Gebälcke;" then follows the very characteristic observation: "Sie hatten wohl Jungen in den Löchern."[1] That he can see with the eye of a painter is apparent from many passages: "Wo man geht und steht ist ein Landschafftbild aller Arten und Weisen. Palläste und Ruinen, Gärten und Wildniss, Fernen und Engen, Häusgen, Ställe, Triumphbögen und Säulen, offt alles zusammen auf ein Blatt zu bringen."[2] But, when compared with the bulk of scientific observations, the passages showing sense for the picturesque, like those showing sense for the historic, are few in number.

This strong scientific bent saves Goethe from lapsing into the often puerile enthusiasm which marks almost every page of Dupaty, and which we shall again and again find in the prose and the verse of the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Goethe's fragmentary notes—mere outlines jotted down for his own pleasure—are not without indications of a purely poetical warmth of feeling,[3] which appears, for instance, in some of his descriptions of landscape. Mountains affect him especially, though he finds himself unable to do them justice in words. From Vicenza he writes: "Von einem Balkon seines Zimmers aber ist eine Aussicht, die man nur stumm betrachten kann. In der Höhe . . . . die Tyroler Gebirge."[4] The sight of the ocean thrills him with the sense of grandeur.[5] It is instructive, however, to compare Goethe's somewhat calm comments on the effect of moonlight on the lagoons in Venice ("Der Vollmond, an einem ganz reinen Himmel, über den Lagunen, den Inseln,

[1] 301. 17 ff.

[2] 217. 7 ff. Cf. Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 311. 7 ff., for praise of the country about Frascati, another striking instance of the blending of the scientific and the æsthetic senses.

[3] Nor even of that elegiac element so common among the Romantic travelers (cf., for instance, a letter to Knebel, dated Rome, November 17, 1786; Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 57. 14 ff., and especially 83. 14 f.).

[4] 104. 3 ff.; cf. also 127. 9; 191. 7 ff.; 297. 10 ff.

[5] 149. 10 ff.; 150. 9.

der sonderbaren Stadt, macht ein Herrliches Schauspiel, der Platz sieht wie eine seltsame Operndekoration aus und alles ist voll Menschen"[1]) with Mrs. Piozzi's rapture over the same scene. Even in Rome, where Goethe's emotions were most keenly stirred, he always maintains a certain reserve in the descriptions of the most fascinating scenes; e. g., when he sees Rome from the dome of St. Peter's,[2] or when from Frascati he looks down upon Rome and Tivoli.[3]

Next to his deterministic method, which combines in so remarkable a degree the scientific and the poetic instincts, that which gives these letters their peculiar value is the autobiographical element. To no one since Winckelmann had Italy —Rome in particular—meant as much as it did to Goethe. For here at last he found the conditions which revealed him to himself. Here he formulated most of the principles which were henceforth to guide his intellectual and his moral life. As Goethe was far more complex and original than Winckelmann, this process of self-discovery is, of course, far more interesting in his than in the latter's case. The full import of Rome for the development of Goethe's inner life we learn only from a study of the *Italienische Reise* and of the *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt.* Yet even these incomplete notes before us convey something of that thrill which he experienced in the expansion of his soul-life. He calls Rome "eine grosse Schule,"[4] and adds: "Man braucht Jahre um sich recht und mit Ernst umzusehn."[5] The disciplinary value of the city he expresses when he says: "Wer mit Ernst sich hier umsieht und Augen hat zu sehen muss solid werden, er muss einen Begriff von Solidität fassen der ihm nie so lebendig ward."[6] As it was in Rome that he first penetrated into the true character of art and its importance for his development ("und da doch einmal Kunst und Nach-

[1] 154. 2 ff. Another moonlight scene, described in the same calm spirit, occurs 286. 3 ff.

[2] 227. 3 ff. [3] 220. 10 ff. [4] 215. 12. [5] 216. 13 f. [6] 216. 22 ff.

bildung eine der entschiedensten Eigenschaften meiner Natur sind"[1]), he may well say of the Eternal City: "Wer Rom verlässt muss auf Kunst verzicht thun, ausserhalb ist alles Pfuscherey."[2]

We can best epitomize all we have said as to Goethe's aim and method by quoting his own words written in retrospection of this period:

Aus Italien, dem formreichen, war ich in das gestaltlose Deutschland zurückgewiesen. . . . . Im Laufe von zwei vergangenen Jahren hatte ich ununterbrochen beobachtet, gesammelt, gedacht, jede meiner Anlagen auszubilden gesucht. Wie die begünstigte griechische Nation verfahren, um die höchste Kunst im eigenen Nationalkreise zu entwickeln, hatte ich bis auf einen gewissen Grad einzusehen gelernt, ... Ferner glaubte ich der Natur abgemerkt zu haben, wie sie gesetzlich zu Werke gehe, um lebendiges Gebild, als Muster alles künstlichen, hervorzubringen. Das Dritte, was mich beschäftigte, waren die Sitten der Völker. An ihnen zu lernen, wie aus dem Zusammentreffen von Nothwendigkeit und Willkür, von Antrieb und Wollen, von Bewegung und Widerstand ein Drittes hervorgeht, was weder Kunst noch Natur, sondern beides zugleich ist, nothwendig und zufällig, absichtlich und blind: ich verstehe die menschliche Gesellschaft.[3]

[1] 262. 15 f.

[2] 262. 2 ff.; cf. also 262. 9 f.; 270. 1 ff. For a detailed account of his artistic development in Italy, particularly in Rome, cf. the letter dated Rome, January 5, 1788 (Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 327 ff.), and especially the letter from Rome, May 17, 1788: "Ich habe mich in dieser anderthalbjährigen Einsamkeit selbst wiedergefunden; aber als was?—als Künstler!" (Weimar ed., *ibid.*, 357).

[3] "Zur Morphologie. Verfolg. Schicksal der Handschrift." HEMPEL, Vo XXXIII, pp. 75 f.

CHAPTER VI

ROMANTICISM

At the very time when Goethe was training himself "das Gebildete und Hervorgebrachte nicht nach dem Effeckt den es auf uns macht, sondern nach seinem innern Werthe zu beurtheilen,"[1] the Romantic movement, set on foot by Rousseau and his associates, in conscious reaction against the scientific Weltanschauung of the Newtons, the Voltaires, and the Diderots, was strongly emphasizing the subjective element. The literature, and in part the art, of the two succeeding generations are imbued with emotionality. *William Lovell*, *René*, *Childe Harold*, and Lenau's *Faust* are epitomes of the sensibility and intense morbidity of the age, of the tendency to seize upon the negative, to delight in decay.

It was inevitable that the interpretation of Italy should be deeply affected by the new *Zeitgeist;*[2] that details once unnoted should be brought into prominence; that by a subtle shifting process a picture should gradually be formed of an Italy essentially elegiacal.

[1] Letter from Rome, December 12, 1786 (Weimar ed., *Briefe*, Vol. VIII, p. 96).

[2] Side by side with the new movements in the interpretation of Italy we find records that continue the traditions of the earlier eighteenth century with no perceptible modification. Thus John Owen, "Late Fellow of Corpus Christi College," in his *Travels into different Parts of Europe, in the years 1791 and 1792: With familiar Remarks on Places, Men, and Manners* (London, 1796), admires the regularity of Turin, worships the Bolognese, has no true appreciation for Venice, Perugia, etc., and is so pedantic as to object to the Bellini in S. Zaccaria, because an angel "entertains" the Madonna and child. Yet his style is far more lively and animated than would have been the case with a similar temperament fifty years earlier.—More interesting is Friedrich von Stolberg in his "Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien" (found in *Gesammelte Werke der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Leopold Grafen zu Stolberg*, Vol. VI [Hamburg, 1827]). This scholarly poet, who was in Italy in 1791 f., is altogether under the ban of the Mengs tradition. His interest is centered in antiquity, history, and landscape. In Naples he sincerely regrets his ignorance of the natural sciences: "hier trifft man die Natur in ihrer

Moreover, certain historical events that, for the newly arisen school, came in the very nick of time, increased the mournful note which for many centuries had been a characteristic feature of the country. In consequence of Napoleon's campaign, the northern part of the peninsula in 1797 fell a prey to the rapacity of the French. Venice in particular, captured by Napoleon and handed over to Austria by the Peace of Campo Formio, in most pitiful fashion fell from her high estate and lost every vestige of her pristine glory. From being "the Revel of the earth and the Masque of Italy," she became in very truth "a drear ruin" with "conquest-branded brow." The French invasion, which in the course of time swept the peninsula from the Alps to Sicily, brought indescribable misery to every part of the country. Besides Venice, Rome and Naples, especially, became a battleground for the contending forces. The nation which claimed to come as liberator destroyed the palaces and stripped the cities of their time-honored monuments. Napoleon made of Paris the art-center of the world by despoiling the conquered provinces.[1]

Werkstatt." We are put in mind of Goethe's great advantage over one trained only in history and art. Venice essentially repels him. His wife writes: "daheim fühlt man sich nicht unter diesen Amphibien."—The classical traditions found an even more enthusiastic spokesman in JOSEPH FORSYTH. His *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters during an excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803* (London, 1813), show by their very title where his interest lay. To him the Cathedral of Pisa is the work of a Greek, but "is considered by the Italians as Gothic." Mediævalism offends him wherever he meets it. In Rome and elsewhere antique architecture inspires him to very adequate and interesting comments.—The title of REV. JOHN CHETWODE EUSTACE'S book, *A Classical Tour through Italy* (London, 1813), reveals the author's preference to be the same as that of Forsyth. In fact, he may be called the Addison of the nineteenth century.—In this connection we might speak of C. V. DE BONSTETTEN'S *Voyage sur la scène des six derniers Livres de l'Enéide* (Geneva, 1804). This is an attempt at making the world familiar with the topographical and historical details of the country in which a large part of the *Æneid* is supposed to have been enacted. The book was a pendant to WOOD'S famous *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer: With a Comparative View of the Ancient and present State of the Troade* (1775). Interesting information as to Bonstetten's plans and intentions is to be found in *Briefe von Bonstetten an Matthisson* (edited by H. H. FÜSSLI, Zürich, 1827), pp. 17 f.

[1] For the effect on Rome of Napoleon's spoliation cf. VOGEL, *Aus Goethes Römischen Tagen* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 147 ff.

The records of travel at this time show how depressing an effect Italy, once so stimulating and so gay, had upon the onlooker. C. G. Knettner, in his *Reise durch Deutschland, Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen und einen Theil von Italien in den Jahren 1797, 1798, 1799* (Leipzig, 1801), shows in poignant fashion the terrible changes which had come over Italy. The author, who had been in Venice before the invasion, now mourns the disappearance of that "Leben, ... Regsamkeit, und . . . . Fröhlichkeit" which had once characterized the City of the Doges. Especially does the Canal Grande seem dead. In the Square and elsewhere he sees well-dressed men and women (the latter deeply veiled), members of good families, ruined by the revolution, begging. In Verona his paid cicerone was a Count of Bevilacqua. He describes him as efficient and gentlemanly. Even more telling is the testimony offered by one of the conquerors—Paul Louis Courier, the famous pamphleteer. Himself an officer in the French army, and stationed for years in Italy, he is moved to indignation by the brutality of the French soldiery and the sufferings of the people. He cries: "Allez, nous vengeons bien 'l'univers vaincu!'"[1]

By this time the Italy made known by the systematic efforts of the eighteenth century had become so familiar that we may say she was an integral part of the culture of Europe. Hence "travels" are no longer the most adequate

[1] Cf. *Œuvres de P. L. Courier, précédées de sa vie par Armand Carrel* (Paris, 1872), pp. 424–600 of which contain "Lettres inédites, écrites de France et d'Italie;" cf. letter dated January 8, 1799.—Several other contemporaneous "travels" and "letters," while adding nothing new to the picture, corroborate the statements quoted above. We shall append only a few. J. J. GERNING, a wide-awake and intelligent traveler, who was in Italy several times, writes of the tremendous changes which he found in Rome in 1798 (*Reise durch Oestreich und Italien* [Frankfurt am Mayn, 1802]). GOTTFRIED SEUME, in his well-known *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802*, interested in everything concerning the lives of the people, has much to relate of the frightful poverty of Venice and other cities.—ELISA VON DER RECKE, in her *Tagebuch einer Reise durch einen Theil Deutschlands und durch Italien, in den Jahren 1804 bis 1806* (published by BÖTTIGER, Berlin, 1815–17), tells of the intense bitterness felt by Italians against the *grande nation*, caused by its rapacity and vandalism.

exponent of the estimate put upon her. We no longer go to the informers, but to the singers. The poets now take up the tale. Not information, but inspiration, dictates the records.[1]

The first in point of time and, in many respects, the most characteristic of those who created an Italy redolent with beauty and with the poetry of decay is the author of *René*. In 1803–4 Chateaubriand traveled in the South, and wrote a number of letters and notes which are published in his complete works as "Voyage en Italie."[2] To him the Christian Rome which he sees before him, and the pagan Rome which his imagination conjures up, are alike suggestive of death and decay ("Rome sommeille au milieu de ses ruines"). When at the close of day he hears in the Colosseum the sound of St. Peter's bells wafted across by a favoring breeze, he exclaims: "Je songeai que l'édifice moderne tomberait comme l'édifice antique."[3] Calling up with his strong historic imagination "the Rome that is at once the heir of Saturn and of Jacob," he gives a haunting picture of the procession of consuls and of emperors descending from the Capitol, and of the long pageant of pontiffs issuing from the Vatican. The Tiber separates these two glories: "assises dans la même poussière, Rome païenne s'enfonce de plus en plus dans ses tombeaux, et Rome chrétienne redescend peu à peu dans les catacombes d'où elle est sortie."[4] To him this sight of death on every hand is welcome. He writes of "les campagnes romaines": "Si vous les voyez en économiste, elles vous désoleront; si vous les contemplez en artiste, en poëte, et même en philosophe, vous ne voudriez peut-être pas qu'elles fussent autrement."[3]

[1] Long before anyone else, Goethe endeared Italy to the imagination by his "Kennst du das Land?"—that classic expression of the "longing of the North for the Hesperides"—and by some of the *Römische Elegien*.

[2] I used *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, Krabbe, 1852), Vol. IV. [3] P. 293. [4] P. 277.

[3] P. 290. In this connection cf. also the intensely poetical passage on the Villa Adriana. This sentiment is but applying to Italy what SAINTE BEUVE happily calls "le mal de René . . . . cet ennui incurable, mélancholique, sans cause, si souvent

Chateaubriand looks on Italy with the eye of the painter —intensely sensitive to the effects of light and shadow, of mountain and cascade, of moon and setting sun. He reminds one of a modern artist in his exquisite appreciation of delicate tints. The atmospheric phenomena of the country surrounding Rome inspire him to the following outburst:

> Une teinte singulièrement harmonieuse marie la terre, le ciel et les eaux: toutes les surfaces, au moyen d'une gradation insensible de couleurs, s'unissent par leur extrémités, sans qu'on puisse déterminer le point où une nuance finit et où l'autre commence.[1]

No Moritz, no Dupaty, no Goethe had looked with so sensitive a retina.

In 1828 and in 1833 Chateaubriand returned to Italy. Many years later, when, satiated with fame, he wrote of himself as of one beyond the tomb, he recorded the impressions of these trips.[2] In his records of the second of the two he speaks particularly of Venice. The picturesqueness and the beauty of the place delight him: "Les caprices d'un rêve ou les jeux d'une imagination orientale n'ont rien de plus fantastique."[3] He feels like exclaiming, with Philippe de Comines: "C'est la plus triomphante cité que j'aie jamais vue!"[4] Yet Venice is no longer the Mistress of the Sea; decay and misery meet the eye on every hand:

> Venise est là, assise sur le rivage de la mer, comme une belle femme qui va s'éteindre avec le jour: le vent du soir soulève ses cheveux embaumés; elle meurt saluée par toutes les grâces et tous les sourires de la nature.[5]

doux et enchanteur dans son expression, sauvage et desséchant au fond, et mortel au cœur" (*Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire* [Paris, 1872], Vol. I, p. 101).

[1] P. 291.

[2] *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, ed. BIRÉ, Vol. VI, especially pp. 231 ff.

[3] P. 231. [4] P. 232.

[5] P. 234. In his *Martyrs*, Books IV and V, occur brief descriptions of ancient Rome and Naples at the time of Diocletian, as well as references to the catacombs of San Sebastian. But they are not of moment. The facts of Chateaubriand's stay in Italy and some suggestive remarks are found in MENGIN, *L'Italie des Romantiques*

Soon after Chateaubriand's first visit, Mme de Staël, nearly related to him in purpose and views, but less pretentious and more genuine, wrote her *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1807). Here, for the first time in the world's literature, Italy appears, not only as a background, but as a determining factor in the creation of character. As August Wilhelm Schlegel well pointed out in his review of the novel,[1] we could not understand the individuality of the great improvisatrice—with all her peculiar charm, her poetical spirit, her dignity, and her resignation—without a comprehension of the sensuous beauty, the dignity, and the sadness of the country from which she sprang. For the Italy which Mme de Staël unrolls before us is essentially the Italy of Chateaubriand and of the other Romanticists of whom we shall speak. The keynote of her novel is not passion, but resignation, and is struck in Corinne's improvisation on Italy: "Ici, le génie se sent à l'aise, parce que la rêverie y est douce; s'il agite, elle calme; s'il regrette un but, elle lui fait don de mille chimères; si les hommes l'oppriment, la nature est là pour l'accueillir."[2]

(Paris, 1902), pp. 1 ff. With all his romantic intensity, Chateaubriand views art entirely in the spirit of Cochin.

WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT, in his *Rom* (1806)—a long poem in ottave rime written in the style of Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands*—looks upon Rome in a spirit akin to that of Chateaubriand. Here

> . . . . herrschet der Zerstörung grause Hand.
> Wehmut hat ihr Reich hier aufgeschlagen.

He also revels in the picturesqueness of this desolation:

> Segnen muss der Mensch, auch wenn er kranket,
> Doch den Epheu, der ihn fest umranket.

For Humboldt, as for Chateaubriand, the ruins about him call to mind a picture of the past. But the inspiration he derives from such a vision is more positive than in the case of the great Frenchman; for Humboldt exhibits a distinct appreciation of the evolution of civilization from Greece, through Rome, to the modern world:

> Ewig hätt' Homeros uns geschwiegen,
> Hätte Rom nicht unterjocht die Welt;

and the lesson he draws from the sight of decayed grandeur is:

> Nur ein Leben aus dem Tod' entfalten,
> Ist der Menschheit schmerzumwölktes Walten.

[1] Cf. A. W. VON SCHLEGEL'S *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. XII, pp. 188 ff

[2] Book II, chap. iii.

Of Rome she cries: "Rome maintenant n'est-elle pas la patrie des tombeaux!"[1] The lengthy discussions on art—an organic part of the story—reveal sensitiveness, but no originality beyond Dupaty and Chateaubriand. Only twice does Mme de Staël strike out in new paths. So she calls the Dome of Milan "une image silencieuse de ce mystère de l'infini qu'on sent au dedans de soi."[2] More remarkable still, during a conversation between Oswald and Corinne,[3] the latter points out that in Mantegna and Perugino and in the paintings of the young Raphael we find a quality allied to the serenity of the ancients, and that they unite with it that "profondité de sentiments qui caractérise le christianisme."[4]

As keenly alive to the melancholy beauty of Italy as Chateaubriand or Mme de Staël, but even less intellectual in his attitude, was the third of the early French Romanticists, Lamartine. When he resided in Naples from 1811 to 1812, he was intoxicated by the enchanted atmosphere and thrilled by the realization of the mutability of human fate, as suggested by the associations of the place. The rest of Italy meant little or nothing to him: "Why do you stop at Livorno, Genoa, Florence?" he writes to a friend;[5] "ce sont des villes à voir en un jour." Only Rome appeals to him, especially on account of its "silence et tranquilité." It seems to him the best place "à la rêverie, aux chagrins sans espoir." During a visit made in 1820, when his views had broadened and matured with time, Florence and Rome attract him more and more, though Naples, with her beauty of landscape,

[1] Book II, chap. iii. Curiously enough, the *Stimmung* of Venice only depresses Corinne; neither does she comprehend the character of Florence.

[2] Book XIX, chap. vi. [3] Book VIII, chap. iii.

[4] *Ibid.* In a footnote on the page devoted to this discussion, the author speaks of the essays on art in the *Europa* by FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL. His influence evidently led to the above diversion from the beaten track of art comments to which Mme de Staël usually adheres.

[5] January 22, 1812. Lamartine's correspondence was published by his widow, Paris, 1873 ff.

[5] November 18, 1811.

ever captivates him anew. At first, indeed, she almost offends him because of her purely voluptuous charm. "Naples ressemble plus à l'Asie qu'à l'Italie, il n'y a que les délices du corps, l'air, la vue, le ciel et la paresse; les délices de l'imagination sont ici."[1] But a prolonged stay there and in Ischia reanimates his former devotion: "Crois-moi: les tableaux, les statues, les colonnades, les galleries, ne sont rien devant la nature de Naples!"[2]

During his last sojourn in Italy (1825–27) Lamartine lived in Florence as a member of the legation. Here the air of Tuscany, the fertility of the country, and—last but not least—the gaiety of the social life buoy and stimulate him. "Cette Toscane est un vrai paradis terrestre; on ne fait que s'y amuser d'un bout de l'année à l'autre."[3] And again to his mother: "C'est une espèce de capitale de tout ce que l'Europe possède de distingué."[4] As these quotations show, the frivolity of his social life, brilliant and noisy as it was, banished from his consciousness the vision of the Italian past, artistic and historic. But both in Naples and in Tuscany, the environment proved infinitely favorable to poetical production. Though few of his poems speak directly of Italy,[5] his verse is often haunted by the melody of the Mediterranean and the fragrance of the Arno valley.

A few quotations will show how elusive is this Italian influence, how little there is in what he says, and how much in his manner of saying it. In "Le golfe de Baïa" we read:

C'est l'heure où la Mélancolie
S'assied pensive et recueillie
Aux bords silencieux des mers;
Et, méditant sur les ruines,

[1] Rome, July 13, 1820.
[2] November 29, 1820.
[3] September 11, 1826.
[4] November 10, 1827.
[5] Among those which deal directly with Italy are: "Ischia" (*Secondes méditations*, Vol. II); "Poésie ou paysage dans le golfe de Gênes" (*Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*, Book I, No. X); "L'Abbaye de Vallambreuses" (*Harmonies*, Book I, No. XII); "La perte de l'Anio" (*Harmonies*, Book II, No. III); "Le premier regret" (*Secondes Harmonies*, Book II, No. XIV).

Contemple au penchant des collines
Ce palais, ces temples déserts.[1]

In "La Liberté, ou Une nuit à Rome":

Là, comme un front penché sous le poids des années,
La ruine, abaissant ces voûtes inclinées,
Tout à coup se déchire en immenses lambeaux,
Pend comme un noir rocher sur l'abîme des eaux;
Ou, des vastes hauteurs de son faîte superbe
Descendant par degrés jusqu'au niveau de l'herbe,
Comme un coteau qui meurt sous les fleurs d'un vallon,
Vient mourir à nos pieds sur les lits de gazon.[2]

The *sacer vates* of Romantic Italy, he who voiced with vehement eloquence what Chateaubriand, Mme de Staël, and and Lamartine had sung in gentler strain, was Byron. His Italy became for decades a universal passion. Not only Ruskin in his youth, but many thousands since have sought the Italy of *Childe Harold.* Two cities, and two cities only, are of prominence in this picture: Venice and Rome. Pre-eminently he is the singer of fallen Venice; at the stroke of his "enchanter's wand" we see "from out the wave her structures rise,"[3] and she now becomes indeed "the fairy city of the heart," precisely because "her palaces are crumbling to the shore," and she "sinks like sea-weed unto whence she rose."[4] And Byron, like Chateaubriand, finds her

Perchance, even dearer in her day of woe,
Than when she was a boast, a marvel, and a show.[5]

[1] *Méditations poétiques*, No. 24.

[2] *Secondes méditations poétiques*, No. 20. This insistence on the decay of Italy leads to contempt for the Italy of his own time, which found expression in the thirteenth stanza of the "Dernier chant du Pèlerinage d'Harolde," and was the cause of the famous duel with Colonel Pepe. Material on Lamartine's stay in Italy may be found in MENGIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff.; also in GEMMA CENZATTI, *Alfonso de Lamartine e l'Italia* (Livorno, 1903).

[3] E. H. COLERIDGE, in his edition of Byron's works (London, 1889, Vol. II, p. 327), has shown that these words are a transcription into verse of a passage from *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (Vol. II, pp. 35 f.).

[4] *Childe Harold*, Canto IV, stanzas 1, 18, 3, 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, stanza 18. One of the early lovers of Venice was the German poet Grillparzer, as shown in his *Tagebuch auf der Reise nach Italien* (1819).

No less appealing, in fact even more attractive to so dramatic an imagination, is Rome, the "city of the soul," to which "the orphans of the heart must turn." The pictures Byron draws of her impress themselves indelibly upon the memory:

> The Niobe of nations! there she stands,
> Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe.[1]

Rome excites his historic sense much as she had excited Chateaubriand's. Like him, Byron conjures up the pageant of history:

> The Goth, the Christian—Time—War—Flood—, and Fire
> Have dealt upon the seven-hilled City's pride;
> She saw her glories star by star expire,
> And up the steep barbarian Monarchs ride,
> Where the car climbed the Capitol.[2]

Standing in the Pantheon, he sees the pagan and the Christian world, again as Chateaubriand had seen them:

> Shrine of all saints and temple of all Gods,
> From Jove to Jesus—.[3]

Because of her natural beauties, Italy, the garden of the world, was dear to him who was accustomed

> . . . . to entwine
> His thoughts with Nature rather in the fields,
> Than Art in galleries.[4]

His descriptions, for example, of the Vatican and of the Venus of Milo imply no observation, knowledge, or originality. Nor is he capable of breaking through the artistic formula of the eighteenth century, and of interpreting works misunderstood or overlooked.[5] Nevertheless, through his rhetoric—displayed most gorgeously perhaps in the stanzas describing St. Peter's—views that had become ossified by

[1] *Loc. cit.*, stanza 79. [2] *Ibid.*, 80. [3] *Ibid.*, 146. [4] *Ibid.*, 61.

[5] KÖLBING, in an essay called "Byron und Dupaty's Lettres sur l'Italie," *Englische Studien*, Vol. XVII (1892), pp. 448 ff., points to a probable dependence on Dupaty's letters of the views on art exhibited in *Childe Harold*.

tradition suddenly appeared fraught with all the freshness of new inspiration, all the welcome charm of recent intuition. The beauty of a new beginning seems to surround Byron's creed, although it was not new.[1]

Whereas Byron, far more than even Chateaubriand, was the dramatist of Italy, to whom Venice and Rome were mighty human documents fraught with man's gigantic aspirations, his pigmy achievements, and his colossal failures, Shelley, like Lamartine, was the landscape poet, the lyric singer of "the waveless sea of Lombardy," of "the olive-sandalled Apennines."[2] Shelley's song of Venice:

> Sun-girt City, thou hast been
> Ocean's child, and then his queen;
> Now has come a darker day,
> And thou soon must be his prey.[3]

and his Rome:

> . . . . at once the Paradise,
> The grave, the city, and the wilderness;
> And where its wrecks like shattered mountains rise,
> And flowering weeds, and fragrant copses dress
> The bones of Desolation's nakedness.[4]

form an illuminating contrast to Byron's more dramatic visions. Love for Italian landscape manifests itself through-

[1] That Byron knew little and cared less for art becomes apparent from his letters (I used *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, Vol. III [London, 1899] edited by R. E. PROTHERO). He writes, October 15, 1816: "Of painting I know nothing; but I like a Guercino;" and again, April 14, 1817: "You must recollect, however, that I know nothing of painting; and that I detest it, unless it reminds me of something I have seen, or think it possible to see, for which [reason] I spit upon and abhor all the Saints and subjects of one half the impostures I see in the churches and pslaces . . . . Depend upon it, of all the arts, it [painting] is the most artificial and unnatural, and that by which the nonsense of mankind is the most imposed upon.' (Cf. also the letters of April 26, 1817, dealing with Florence and its galleries, and of February 20, 1820, dealing with Venice and the Venetian painters, for whom he expresses a liking.) Other works in which Italy plays a part are: "Beppo," "Ode on Venice," "Marino Faliero," "The Two Foscari." These add nothing important for our purpose. "The Lament of Tasso," "The Prophecy of Dante," and the translations of the Francesca episode from the *Inferno* and of the first canto of Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* illustrate the nascent love for the older Italian literature which forms a part of the Romantic movement.

[2] "Euganean Hills." [3] *Ibid.* [4] "Adonais," XLIX.

out his letters and breathes in his poems, but modern art receives even less attention from him than from Byron.[1]

Like Lamartine, Shelley found the air of Italy most congenial for productivity. Hence, the task of tracing the influence upon him of the country which was the true home of his genius eludes the critic's skill. Not merely what he says of Italy[2] shows us her subtle impress, but the fact that his best poems are steeped in her sunshine and informed with her beauty.

All these—Chateaubriand, Mme de Staël, Lamartine, Byron, Shelley—form a group,[3] inasmuch as they are the great poetical interpreters of Italy; of an Italy, however, which is, with slight modifications, the Italy of Mrs. Piozzi and of Dupaty. For, in spite of their great originality of expression, they are curiously lacking in intellectual independence. All are either ignorant of art—like Lamartine and Byron—or totally dependent on the canons of the eighteenth century, like Chateaubriand, Mme de Staël (whose deviations amounted to very little, as we have seen), and Shelley. Even more closely allied are they by their common indifference to mere information, the *summum bonum*

[1] Shelley's beautiful letters from Italy, ranging from 1818 on, express, however, a rare feeling for antiquity. From Rome he writes to Peacock, March 23, 1819: "You know not how delicate the imagination becomes by dieting with antiquity day after day" (*Shelley's Works*, edited by H. B. FORMAN, Vol. VIII, London, 1880). His fragmentary romance "The Colosseum" and his "Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence" (both in *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 27 ff.) show his interest in the remnants of antique architecture and sculpture.

[2] Among his works which refer to Italy are: "Julian and Maddalo," "Lines Written in the Euganean Hills," "Stanzas Written in Dejection near Naples," "The Cenci," "Ode to Naples," "Adonais," "To Italy" (fragment), "A Roman's Chamber" (fragment), "Rome and Nature" (fragment). Shelley's stay in Italy has been described by DOWDEN, *The Life of P. B. Shelley*, Vol. II (London, 1886), pp. 186 ff.; also by MENGIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff.

[3] Many other names will naturally suggest themselves in this connection, such as George Sand, Alfred de Musset, not to speak of the many who, like Tieck ("William Lovell"), Jean Paul ("Titan"), Eichendorff ("Taugenichts"), etc., occasionally introduce Italy into their writings. But not one of these goes much beyond the type presented in the text.

of Rationalists like Lalande,[1] and by their temperamental hostility to that scientific method which stamps Goethe's *Tagebücher*.[2] Their positive contribution, however, can hardly be overrated. A dozen lines from *Childe Harold* did more to endear Italy to the heart and the imagination—though not to the critical intellect—of Europe than all the tomes of Rationalism.[3]

The change of *Weltanschauung* implied in this very view of Italy—emotional and personal—could not but affect the standards of art. Rationalism—and in a larger sense Winckelmannism—had delighted in regularity, harmony, control—all that spoke of the intellectual. The Romantic view rejected merely intellectual canons and submitted to the emotional tribunal alone.

Even in the palmy days of Rationalism there began to arise a faint love for things mystic, for the chiaroscuro. As a natural consequence, the Middle Ages, formerly despised, slowly but persistently increased in fascination. Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry*, Herder's *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, Novalis' *Die Christenheit, oder Europa*, Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*, Scott's novels—all point to a renaissance of mediæval

[1] It must be mentioned, however, that the interest in early Italian literature shown by such men as Byron and Chateaubriand did something toward expanding the picture of Italy by calling attention to places like Ravenna and Arquà.

[2] In the *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe* occurs an amusing passage in which the author regrets that in the *Italienische Reise* he misses the Goethe of *Werther* (Vol. V, p. 52). At the same time, this Romanticist has high praise for Lalande, as the best work extant "sur la Rome des Arts et sur la Rome antique" (*ibid.*, p. 49).

[3] Of the group of English poets to which Byron and Shelley belonged, there was one—the author of *Lalla Rookh*—who represented in his Italian experience that great majority—usually silent—who get absolutely no inspiration from travel. THOMAS MOORE, in the diary which he kept in Italy (cf. *Memoires, Journal and Correspondence*, edited by LORD JOHN RUSSELL, Vol. III [London, 1853]; and "Rhymes on the Road . . . . 1819," *Works*, Vol. VII [London, 1841], pp. 269 ff.), shows himself incapable of getting the atmosphere or cultural import of the country. It is enough to quote his initial impression of Venice: "The disenchantment one meets with in Venice,—the Rialto so mean—the canals so stinking!" He says much on art, but all is in the spirit of the eighteenth century, unleavened by intellectual force or originality.

forms and feeling. The influence of Cochin, Winckelmann, and Mengs slowly wanes; love for the characteristic, the picturesque, crowds out the delight in regularity, the uncritical veneration for Greek beauty.

As early as 1790 a group of German painters in Rome, headed by Bury, insisted on the superiority of the earlier masters over the Bolognese and even over the Raphael of the second manner. In 1797 Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen* glorified the simple and unlearned among artists—like Fra Angelico—and preached a principle absolutely new to their generation: that true art can be born only of the religious instinct. Friedrich Schlegel's brilliant essays in the *Europa* in 1803 in powerful fashion voiced and spread this principle and the consequent preference for the earlier masters. These ideas were taken up by the school of German painters which flourished in Rome from about 1815 to 1830—the "Nazarenes." From 1827 to 1831 appeared Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen*, giving for the first time a picture of the development of Italian art in which the Bolognese occupy an inferior position. Later France and England accepted the new views. In 1836 Rio, influenced by the Schlegels, Rumohr, and the Nazarenes, in his *Poésie chrétienne* protested against the formula of Cochin, and proclaimed the absolute superiority of the masters of the Trecento and Quatrocento—notably Fra Angelico, Perugino, and Bellini. About 1850 Ruskin, with his fascinating eloquence, began to spread similar ideas in England, and dealt the death-blow to Palladianism. By the middle of the nineteenth century all Europe had abandoned the art tenets of Rationalism. For a time, especially in England, these were replaced by views antipodal indeed, but no less narrow: antiquity was rejected as a living force; it was pagan and uninspired.[1] Since this change of artistic standards was not

[1] Cf. KLENZE, "Growth of Interest," pp. 31 ff.

completed in all countries until about 1850, the travelers in Italy of the early part of the century awakened but by slow degrees to the new possibilities of interest and culture thus opened to them. Yet it is worth noting that even in the group of poets discussed above—on the whole decidedly unoriginal in their utterances on art—there is here and there faintly perceptible a vague dissatisfaction with the teachings of the eighteenth century. Thus Shelley could not altogether join in the popular praise of Guercino, and Mme de Staël makes Corinne plead in favor of religious masters like Perugino. The group to which we now turn voices the new creed more and more boldly, often combining with it a feeling for the *anima* of the country as keen as that of Byron and Chateaubriand.

As far back as 1789, the famous painter Mme Lebrun, an admirer of the regularity of Turin and of the elegance of the Bolognese, praises the doors of the Baptistery of Florence and calls the Giotto frescoes in Padua "très-bien composées," and continues: "L'attitude simple et l'expression des figures se rapprochent du style des anciens. La couleur est souvent celle du Titien, sans pourtant en avoir la perfection." In S. Zeno, with its "aspect mystérieux et mélancolique," she is filled with a sweet religious melancholy.[1]

Of direct importance for us are the notes which Heinrich Meyer, Goethe's friend, took during his second stay in Italy, 1795 ff.[2] Meyer, who was acquainted with every epoch of the history of art, on the whole, like Goethe, adhered to the Winckelmann-Mengs tenets. Antiquity was to him the last court of appeal, and the High Renaissance the only school of artists that succeeded in approaching this ideal. Hence, in the last analysis, the Early Renaissance interested him merely as a period of preparation. But here and there he

[1] This romantic sentiment is set off by her admitted dependence on Lalande.

[2] These notes are preserved in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar as *Meyeriana* (Fasc. IV-VII, IX, XI).

shows himself capable of appreciating the intrinsic value of earlier works—thus going decidedly beyond Cochin and Mengs.

When Meyer started for Italy in 1795, it was for the express purpose of acquainting himself through personal observation with the monuments of the various phases of the development of art. In pursuance of this object, he studied the earlier masters in Venice, Florence, and Rome, and for the first time felt himself compelled to mitigate the severity of the Mengs formula. Thus, for instance, he expresses genuine appreciation of Bellini's "Supper of Emmaus" in S. Salvatore in Venice.[1] In the Palazzo Corsini in Rome he saw the "Last Judgment" by Fra Angelico, of which he says: "Die Manier ist alt und von überaus grosser Simplizität und Unschuld, aber nicht ohne Geschmack."[2] The frescoes by Pinturicchio in Sta. Maria del Popolo he regards as "gar nicht schlecht."[3] The highest praise he bestows on the "Annunciation" by Fra Angelico in the cloister of S. Marco in Florence (upper floor, first corridor): "Der Kopf der Madonna ist einer der schönsten lieblichsten reinsten die man sehen kann . . . . Es triumphiert gleichsam die Einfalt und die Unschuld in diesem Bilde."[4] In this fashion he enlarges the picture of Italy at least by S. Marco and S. Salvatore.[5]

Yet these sporadic marks of appreciation of the larger field are with Meyer but slight in comparison with the great bulk of traditional opinion and unoriginal acceptance of a canon just beginning to wane. To select at random a few

[1] Fasc. V. [2] Fasc. X. [3] Fasc. IX. [4] Fasc. XI.

[5] GOETHE'S *Anhang zu Benvenuto Cellini* (1803) and some other utterances show how, under the influence of his scholarly friend, in whose judgment he had the utmost confidence, he too in the course of time learned to modify those extreme views laid down in the *Tagebücher* and later taken over into the *Italienische Reise*. Farther on we shall prove in greater detail that, had Goethe in 1816 cared to make the *Italienische Reise* the reflex of his modified views, instead of a literary transcription of the notes of 1786-88, we should have found a larger Italy than in the *Tagebücher*.

passages: In the notes on the galleries in Florence,[1] while he praises the "äusserste Natürlichkeit" in "The Adoration of the Magi" by Ghirlandajo, he objects to its "Mangel an Haltung und Harmonie." Again, in the notes on the Roman churches[2] he extravagantly praises the "St. Margaret" by Guercino in S. Pietro in Vincoli.[3]

The picture of Italy was further enlarged by the poet Matthison, who was in Italy in 1795–96,[4] and again in 1819–20. Under the guidance of Hirt, "Reiffensteins würdigem Nachfolger," Matthison learned to appreciate the Angelico frescoes in the Chapel of Nicholas V, which Hirt had recently discovered.[5]

The influence of the Tischbein-Bury views becomes evident in Matthison's comments. Thus he says of the Fra Angelicos mentioned above: "Den Charakter patriarchalischer Ehrwürdigkeit und naiver Einfalt haben sie mit allen bedeutenden Gemälden aus jener frommen und heiligen Kunstperiode gemein." He goes beyond Meyer—in fact, beyond any of his contemporaries—in his unstinted praise of Bellini, whose Madonnas appear to him "ein idealisches Urbild göttlicher Weiblichkeit, Anmuth und Würde. Die musicirenden Engel sind holde Genien des Lichts und der Liebe . . . . zauberische Schöpfungen." Greater originality appears in his discovery of the Lippi frescoes in the Cathedral of Spoleto, and in his admiration for Donatello in Padua.[6]

[1] Fasc. VII. [2] Fasc. IX.

[3] This same fettered originality is observable in MEYER's essays on art, and especially in his *Entwurf einer Kunstgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1805). For further details on Meyer's views cf. KLENZE, "Growth of Interest," pp. 25 ff. For Meyer's life cf. WEIZSÄCKER, *Kleine Schriften zur Kunst von Heinrich Meyer*, Seufferts Neudrucke, Vol. XXV, pp. iii ff., also O. HARNACK, *Kunstleben, passim;* and O. HARNACK, *Essais und Studien zur Literaturgeschichte* (Braunschweig, 1899), pp. 151 ff.

[4] Cf. *Erinnerungen von Friedrich von Matthison*, Vols. IV and V (Zürich, 1814 and 1816).

[5] Cf. KLENZE, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

[6] His second visit to Italy (1819–20) offers nothing of importance for our purpose, except perhaps his meeting with Rumohr, who appears to him capable of comple-

Compared with Matthison, Arndt, the patriot-poet,[1] appears less striking. Yet he, too, is decidedly the spokesman of a new temperament. St. Mark's in Venice he calls "dieses herrliche Gebäude," and continues: "Man wird gleichsam von einem heiligen Schauer ergriffen, wenn man in seine dunklen Hallen eintritt, und zu seinen kühlen Wölbungen aufschaut." In Pisa he is overcome by a romantic sentiment at sight of the dome. It awakens "eine Art süsse Wehmuth." His hundreds of pages on Florence exhibit not much originality of criticism (though he is impressed by the Ghirlandajos in Sta. Maria Novella), but an unprecedented love for the city.

Raumer,[2] the historian, again expands the picture by his great interest in the Tombe degli Scaligeri in Verona. At the same time he is comparatively indifferent to the palaces of Palladio in Vicenza.[3]

How much even the essentially rationalistic temperament was affected by the new trend appears in the writings on Italy of Stendhal (Henry Beyle), the author of *Rouge et Noir* and of *La Chartreuse de Parme*.[4] As one of the greatest lovers of Italy whom France has ever produced—he preferred the Italians to his own countrymen—Stendhal

menting Vasari. Under Rumohr's influence he admires the Dome of Siena and the Pinturicchios there. (Cf. "Toskanischer Winter," *Schriften*, Vol. VII, Zürich, 1829.)

[1] Cf. *Bruchstücke aus einer Reise durch einen Theil Italiens im Herbst und Winter 1798 und 1799* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1801).

[2] *Die Herbstreise nach Venedig* (2 vols., 1816).

[3] His maturer work, *Italien: Beiträge zur Kentniss dieses Landes* (Leipzig, 1840; 2 vols.), offers more in the way of information, but is less original in interpretation. Before Raumer, TIECK, in his *Reisegedichte eines Kranken*—a very uninteresting series of poems written as early as 1805—significantly mentions in one breath the amphitheater and the Tombe degli Scaligeri, as well as the reminiscences of Dietrich von Bern, when describing Verona; and in Bologna he apostrophizes Francia (*Gedichte von L. Tieck*, Part III [Dresden, 1823], pp. 98-236).

[4] How remarkably he shared Meyer's hybrid views on painting has been shown in KLENZE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29 ff. I need only repeat here that, though an admirer of the Bolognese, he has great encomiums for the energetic Masaccio and the virile Ghirlandajo. He was the first Frenchman to notice the side-walls of the Sistine Chapel. Characteristic for his position is the fact that he calls Fra Angelico the Guido Reni of his time.

often in the course of a long career took occasion to revert at length to the country of his predilection.[1] Stendhal shows, in common with the eighteenth century, great love for information, an exaggerated estimate of the Bolognese, and indifference toward many of the early masters. At the same time, love for Ghirlandajo caused him, as it had done Arndt, to add Sta. Maria Novella to the picture of Italy.[2] This belated Rationalist presents his views in an entirely modern slap-dash style, personal and gossipy.[3]

Almost contemporaneous with the journalistic essays of Stendhal was the scholarly discussion of Italy by one of the great Hellenists of the early nineteenth century. The first part of Thiersch's *Reisen in Italien seit 1822* appeared in 1826.[4] In contrast to Winckelmann, the great Hellenist of

[1] His books which bear on the subject are *Rome, Naples et Florence*, a diary begun in 1816 (I used the edition of 1865); *Promenades dans Rome*, commenting on his stay in Rome in 1827-28 (I used the Paris edition of 1873); *Mélanges d'art et de littérature*, especially the review of COLOMB'S *Journal d'un voyage en Italie*, written in 1835 (I used the Paris edition of 1867). In the last-named work he passes in review many of his predecessors in Italy, among those whom he commends being Misson, de Brosses (whom he calls the Voltaire of Italian travelers), and Lalande. Cochin he attacks, and Goethe he does not mention.

[2] *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* (Paris, 1817).

[3] In respect to this most modern note, Stendhal had a predecessor in the German dramatist KOTZEBUE. KOTZEBUE introduces his *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise aus Liefland nach Rom und Neapel* (3 vols., Cologne, 1805) by the remark that the only object in describing Italy, which had been described so often, could for the modern man consist in giving the personal, subjective impressions which the traveler derived from his visit. This bold declaration of an entirely subjective attitude throws Goethe's consistent objectivity into strong relief. Of content there is little in KOTZEBUE'S book to interest us. The intensely personal note of his style we find emphasized in others as time went on. Only one year after the appearance of GOETHE'S *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt* came HEINE'S witty, impertinent, frivolous, but entertaining *Reise von München nach Genua* (1830). The *Bäder von Lucca* and similar *Reisenovellen* do not concern us.

[4] The title-page mentions as joint authors FR. THIERSCH, LUDWIG SCHORN, ED. GERHARD, and LEO VON KLENZE. The work was to have been published in three parts. Only the first part appeared, containing Thiersch's description of northern Italy and Schorn's comments on the central part of the peninsula.

F. Thiersch (1784-1860) was one of the greatest Hellenists of Germany and famous as an academic teacher. He was intensely interested in the establishment of Greek autonomy, and was probably the first to suggest Prince Otto of Bavaria for the throne of Greece. In 1822 he went to Italy for the purpose of studying art at first hand. (Cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie.*)

the eighteenth century, this representative of a new age sees in Italy, besides the monuments of antique greatness, noble monuments of modern artistic originality. He sees them, significantly enough, not in the spirit of Mengs, nor yet of Wackenroder and Schlegel, but rather in that of a modified Rationalism as we found it in Matthison, in Heinrich Meyer, and, in a sense, in Stendhal. Side by side with traditional admiration for the Bolognese,[1] his work contains appreciation for the Tombe degli Scaligeri, interest in S. Zeno, admiration for the Mantegna there, sensitiveness to the peculiar atmosphere of Venice, profound respect for Giotto and for Francia, besides, of course, reverence for antiquity. His presentation is characterized by an admirable thoroughness and completeness, which make of his work the most dignified monument of the transition period.[2]

The most poetical record of this peculiar group is that of August von Platen. By temperament and experience Platen was adapted to appreciate Italy, where for many years he made his home. In 1824 he began a series of restless peregrinations, which made him acquainted with every detail of the peninsula. In him poetical imagination, equal to that of Byron or Shelley, was counterbalanced by a serious intellectual ideal. Thus he attempted to put himself abreast of the artistic criticism of his time, and seriously tried to

[1] He is one of the first to criticize the useless and inorganic columns of Palladio's Redentore in Venice, and to call the Salute "überladen."

[2] Although modern culture is indebted primarily to the brothers Schlegel for a larger grasp of Italian art, and hence a maturer understanding of the cultural importance of the peninsula, neither August Wilhelm nor Friedrich has left valuable records of his sojourn in Italy. August Wilhelm traveled there in company with Mme de Staël in 1804–5. Of the poems dealing with Italy, "Rom. Elegie" offers nothing original, "Der Dom zu Mailand" is remarkable as an early proof of appreciation of that famous church. Friedrich crossed the Alps in 1819 with Prince Metternich, in the suite of Francis I. He was too old to derive new intellectual stimulus from this journey (cf. his commonplace remarks on Naples, Florence, Venice, and Rome, in his letter to August Wilhelm dated August 21, 1819; found in WALZEL, *Friedrich Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder August Wilhelm* [Berlin, 1890], p. 625).

appreciate the entire cultural value of Italy.[1] His diaries[2] are filled with discriminating judgments on the important art treasures. In this fashion he unrolls for us an Italy intellectually much richer than even that of Stendhal and Matthison, and as fascinating as that of Byron or Shelley. Like Byron, he prefers Venice to every other city, even to Florence, and returns to it again and again: "Ueberhaupt ist der Schönheit Venedigs noch etwas Wundervolles, Geheimes, Schauerliches beigesellt, das ihren Reiz erhöht, und das man in Florenz trotz aller Erinnerungen an die Vorzeit nicht findet."[3] But it is a different Venice which he sees. For, besides reveling in the melancholy of her decay ("Es scheint ein langes, ew'ges Ach zu wohnen in diesen Lüften"), he is the first visitor to be keenly alive to the charm of her Giovanni Bellini, her Carpaccio, even of her Vivarini and her Cima da Conegliano.[4] So also is he

[1] His interest included the history of the country, as shown in his *Geschichten des Königreichs Neapel von 1414–1443*. His *Liga von Cambray* is one of the earliest specimens of the historical drama conceived in the spirit of Grabbe, i. e., a play in which not an individual, but a whole nation—in this case the Venetian Republic—is the hero.

[2] *Die Tagebücher des Grafen August von Platen: Aus der Handschrift des Dichters*, edited by LAUBMANN and SCHEFFLER (Stuttgart, 1896–1900).

[3] *Tagebücher*, Vol. II, pp. 811 f.; cf. pp. 698 f. In his "Epigramme" (*Werke*, HEMPEL, Vol. I, p. 309) he says:

> Plump und zu bunt ist Rom, und Neapel ein Haufe von Häusern;
> Aber Venedig erscheint eine vollendete Stadt.

[4] No poet had found such notes as he strikes in the Venetian sonnets:

> Hier wuchs die Kunst wie eine Tulipane,
> Mit ihrer Farbenpracht dem Meer entstiegen,
> Hier scheint auf bunten Wolken sie zu fliegen,
> Gleich einer zauberischen Fee Morgane.
>
> Wie seid ihr gross, ihr hohen Tiziane,
> Wie zart Bellin, dal Piombo wie gediegen,
> Und o wie lernt sich ird'scher Schmerz besiegen
> Vor Paolos heiligem Sebastiane!
>
> Doch was auch Farb' und Pinsel hier vollbrachte,
> Der Meissel ist nicht ungebraucht geblieben,
> Und manchen Stein durchdringt das Schöngedachte:
>
> Ja, wen es je nach San Giulian getrieben,
> Damit er dort des Heilands Schlaf betrachte,
> Der muss den göttlichen Campagna lieben!
>
> —No. 26, HEMPEL, Vol. I, pp. 162 f.

Not appreciation only, but a warm personal affection, speaks in his sonnet adressed to his "friend" Giovanni Bellini (cf. No. 21, HEMPEL, Vol. I, p. 160). Similarly, in

one of the first to show sympathetic comprehension of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and its treasures.[1] Yet he does not reject Titian or Paolo Veronese, or even Palladio.[2]

Beyond all his contemporaries, Platen manifests an intimate tenderness for the streets, the canals, the balconies—for all that contributes to the *Stimmung* of Venice; compare Sonnets 19, 20, and especially 31.[3] The last-named is so extremely happy in reflecting his appreciation of the peculiar *anima* of the city, that we cannot better close our discussion of Platen's Venice than by quoting it in full:

Wenn tiefe Schwermut meine Seele wieget,
  Mag's um die Buden am Rialto flittern:
  Um nicht den Geist im Tande zu zersplittern,
Such' ich die Stille, die den Tag besieget.

Dann blick' ich oft, an Brücken angeschmieget,
  In öde Wellen, die nur leise zittern,
  Wo über Mauern, welche halb verwittern,
Ein wilder Lorberbusch die Zweige bieget.

Und wann ich, stehend auf versteinten Pfählen,
  Den Blick hinaus ins dunkle Meer verliere,
Dem fürder keine Dogen sich vermählen:

Dann stört mich kaum im schweigenden Reviere,
  Herschallend aus entlegenen Kanälen,
Von Zeit zu Zeit ein Ruf der Gondoliere.[4]

Platen's remarks concerning Florence, Rome, Verona, and Siena are not particularly interesting. But in Orvieto he expresses almost inordinate pleasure at the façade of the

the third act of the *Liga von Cambray* a charming scene occurs in which the doge refers the children to "unserm süssen Meister Gian Bellin" (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 437). A later publication by a renowned French Romanticist, THÉOPHILE GAUTIER, voices the same intimate affection for all the idiosyncrasies of the City of Lagoons. His *Voyage en Italie—Italia* appeared in 1852, but is in spirit to be associated with Platen.

[1] With all his discrimination in taste, his knowledge is groping. He calls the style of this church "vorgothisch, byzantinisch" (*Tagebücher*, Vol. II, p. 673).

[2] Cf., for instance, Sonnet 23, HEMPEL, Vol. I, p. 161.

[3] HEMPEL, Vol. I, pp. 158, 159, 161.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 165 f.

Dome.[1] In Spoleto he, like Matthison, admires the frescoes by Lippo Lippi.[2] The Campo Santo in Pisa appeals to him for the simplicity of its architecture rather than for the paintings.[3] In Palermo he speaks of Monreale as "sehr merkwürdig; der Form nach schöner als die anderen griechischen Kirchen in Palermo, Venedig, Ravenna."[4] But, on the other hand, although no uncritical admirer of the Bolognese, he can hardly say enough in praise of Guercino, especially of the frescoes in the Palazzo Costaguti[5] and of his "Aurora" in Rome.[6]

The first to turn altogether against the Bolognese is Wolfgang Menzel,[7] Goethe's antagonist. Several passages in

[1] *Tagebücher*, Vol. II, p. 899. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 934. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 869. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 975.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 849, and again p. 853.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 853. In most of Platen's Italian poems there is found that "Wonne der Wehmut" which connects him much more closely with the Chateaubriand-Byron group than with Goethe in his maturity. For Goethe drew life and strength from beauty, while Platen makes Tristan exclaim:

Wer die Schönheit angeschaut mit Augen,
Ist dem Tode schon anheimgegeben,
Wird für keinen Dienst auf Erden taugen.
—HEMPEL, Vol. I, p. 55.

Among his numerous poems referring to Italy, "Brunelleschi" (HEMPEL, Vol. I, p. 216) is important for an appreciation of Platen's knowledge of art; "Acqua Paolina" (p. 196) compares the present misery of Rome with her former grandeur; "Die Pyramide des Cestius" (p. 192) reviews Rome's remarkable career and expresses the poet's wish—we are reminded of Goethe—to find a resting-place near the venerable pyramid; in "Florenz" (p. 190) and "Flucht nach Toscana" the climate and the beauty of the inhabitants of the Arno city are celebrated; "Einladung nach Sorrent" (p. 202), "Amalfi" (p. 265), "Bilder Neapels" (p. 262) and "Hymnue auf Sicilien" (p. 249) glorify the beauty of southern Italy. Ballads like "Der alte Gondolier" (p. 19) introduce Italy as a background.

For Platen's life and literary activity cf. BESSON, *Platen: Étude biographique et littéraire* (Paris, 1894); also *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Koch).

Akin to Platen in his delight in the sadness of Italy is AUGUSTE BARBIER. In his "Il Pianto"(1833; contained in his *Iambes et poèmes*) he exclaims: "La mort! la mort! elle est sur l'Italie entière;" and he calls all Italy "Divine Juliette, au cercueil étendue." When he hears of Goethe's death he cries: "O vieille Rome! ô Goethe! ô puissances du monde! Ainsi donc votre empire a passé comme l'onde."

[7] Menzel's forerunner in the view of Italy as determined by the "Nazarener" was B. G. Niebuhr, the historian. As early as October, 1816, he writes in a letter from Rome that Venice and Florence were "gross und erfreulich" to him. "In beiden lebt noch sichtbar und handgreiflich das Bild und Denkmal der grossen Zeiten fort." Rome seems poor in paintings compared with these two, for he refuses to recognize "Bologneser Fabrikarbeiten." We have not mentioned him before because these utterances became public only much later. (Cf. *Lebensnachrichten über Barth. Geo. Niebuhr*, Hamburg, 1838-39.)

his *Reise nach Italien im Frühjahr 1835*[1] show how deeply affected he was by the point of view of the "Nazarener." Consequently he unites with warm praise for the early masters characteristically violent attacks on the Bolognese:

Die bis zu Raphael aufsteigende Kunst ist zwar nur eine Kunst in der Kindheit, aber das Kind ist so heilig und liebenswürdig, dass wir uns gern an seinem Anblick weiden, und uns daran erholen von dem Ekel und der Langenweile, den uns die koquetten Verkürzungen, pretiösen Draperien, geilen Andachten und theatralischen Affecte der Malerei nach Raphael in Rom eingeflösst haben. Man sieht, wie Raphael selbst seine herrlichsten Blüthen nur aus der Wurzel dieser altitalienischen Kunst treiben konnte. Wie viel höher er auch steht, etwas von seiner frommen Schönheit hatten schon jene Alten.

As a consequence, from the point of view of art Italy at the hand of Menzel definitely assumes the contour familiar to the traveler of today. The art-lover of the age of Rationalism saw in Bologna the very core of artistic Italy; the Hellenist went to Rome as his Mecca; to the Romanticist decaying Venice was the fairy-city of the heart. But the modern traveler—trained to appreciate the strongly marked individualities of the early masters, their deep earnestness, and their virile hold on life, and to value the enormous cultural import of the Italian Middle Age and Early Renaissance—sees in Florence what Menzel saw in her: "das Elysium der Kunst." For here one can study in the churches and in the Accademia "das allmähliche Aufsteigen der Kunst." Menzel waxes enthusiastic over "den kindlich frommen Cimabue;" over Giotto, "in dem sich schon unverkennbar eine Tendenz zum Schönen, Graziösen und Idealen erkennen lässt;" over Orcagna, "der noch mehr auf Schönheit sah." Fra Angelico he calls "der liebliche Fiesole, aus dessen Bildern die Engel lächeln und uns sagen zu wollen scheinen, wie süss der Himmel ist."

[1] Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1835.

Besides Florence, cities like Perugia at last assume importance: "Hier wird man des italienischen Mittelalters erst froh;" whereas Bologna becomes comparatively void of attraction. In Rome Menzel is not indifferent to antiquity, but boldly attacks later works long overestimated; St. Peter's, for instance, appears to him "geschmacklos."

But Menzel, however daring in his voicing of new art-tenets, is not at all in advance of contemporary travelers in an attempt at comprehending Italy as a resultant of forces, physical, historical, and sociological—the very feature which makes Goethe's *Italienische Reise* stand out in this vast literature of travel. The scientific instinct finds no more satisfaction in his notes than it does in Byron and Platen, however great the difference in detail.

CHAPTER VII

GOETHE'S "ITALIENISCHE REISE"

AGAINST this background of romanticism and subjectivity we now take up Goethe's *Italienische Reise* and *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt.*[1] The better to understand Goethe's method, however, let us first glance quickly at the history of his interest in Italy after his return to Weimar. Besides the letters and diaries written during his southern sojourn, many documents attest the fact that the country of Raphael never ceased to attract him. The first of these are contained in a series of essays which appeared in *Der Teutsche Merkur* in October and November, 1788, and March and December, 1789. *Das Römische Karneval* was announced in the *Teutsche Merkur*, as early as 1787, and appeared as a separate book in 1789. More subtle proof of this interest is furnished by many a passage in *Tasso* (1790) and in the *Römische Elegien* (written about this time, though published later). His brief stay in Verona, Venice, Mantua, and Milan (1790) seemed almost to destroy, temporarily at least, his enthusiasm for the country of his predilection, as becomes apparent in the *Venezianische Epigramme* and in letters. Nevertheless, he turned his attention at this time to the older Venetian painters.[2] Nor was his interest in things Italian entirely blighted. As early as 1792 he put out his essay on Cagliostro, printed after "Der Grosskophta" in the first volume of his *Neue Schriften.* In the same year he thought

[1] I found material and suggestions for the following paragraphs in DÜNTZER'S edition of the *Italienische Reise* in HEMPEL, Vol. XXIV; E. SCHMIDT, introduction and notes to *Tagebücher;* WAUER, *Die Redaktion von Goethes "Italienischer Reise"* (Leipzig, 1904); WEBER'S edition of the *Italienische Reise* (Leipzig and Vienna, *s. a.*); GOEDEKE'S *Grundriss.*

[2] Cf. the essay, "Aeltere Gemälde," HEMPEL, Vol. XXIV, pp. 555 ff.

of writing a description of Roman festivities. A few years later he (in conjunction with Heinrich Meyer, his friend and counselor in matters of art) conceived the ambitious plan of a large book that should describe the whole of Italy physically, historically, and artistically—a work that was to be the result of a second protracted visit. Neither visit nor book ever came about, but in the preparation for them Goethe collected a vast amount of material on the geography, history, and art of Italy.[1] As a part of this preparation he made a detailed study of the art and history of Florence, in order, evidently, to supply a conspicuous lack in his acquaintance with Italy. A fruit of this study is his translation of Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography in Schiller's *Horen* (1796). His interest in this subject deepened in the ensuing years, as shown by the appearance, in 1803, of the complete translation (the *Horen* had omitted certain portions), together with an important appendix reflecting an acquaintance with Florentine culture remarkable and admirable in the disciple of Winckelmann.[2] That this newly awakened interest did not, however, interfere with his veneration for Rome appears in that masterly biographical sketch, *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (1805).

When, a few years later, Goethe undertook to edit the autobiographical papers of Philipp Hackert, his imagination was again carried back to his own experiences in Rome, and

[1] Printed as "Vorbereitung zur zweiten Reise nach Italien 1795. 1796" in the Weimar edition, Vol. XXXIV, 2, pp. 151–251. Cf. the introduction by SUPHAN, pp. 141 ff. There we find lists of "travels" (pp. 183 ff.) which Goethe read as part of his preparation. (The Sicilian travelers he characterized in the "Vorerinnerung" to "Philipp Hackert" [HEMPEL, Vol. XXXII, p. 18]. The work of S. Non, wanting here, is mentioned in the *Italienische Reise*, p. 225, and in the essay "Architektonisch-naturhistorisches Problem," HEMPEL, Vol. XXXIV, p. 227.) Although some very important names are lacking—we miss all mention of Cochin, Richard, Lalande—the range is remarkable. Yet, strange to say, we can find little, if any, effect of all this reading upon the content or form of the *Italienische Reise* or the *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt*.

[2] Moreover, the essays of H. Meyer on various phases of Italian art which were appearing during these years, could not help keeping Goethe in touch with the subject and enlarging his views. Cf. KLENZE, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

especially in Naples and Sicily. By the time this work was finished (1811), the idea of writing his own autobiography, after thus devoting his energy to the life of others, had taken root in his mind. Consequently, he now gave to the world the first three volumes of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, of which the *Italienische Reise* formed the logical sequel. In 1816 and 1817 this work appeared under the title *Aus meinem Leben. Von Goethe. Zweite Abteilung. Erster und zweiter Teil. Auch ich in Arkadien!* This covers the period from his departure from Karlsbad (September 3, 1786) to his return to Rome from Sicily and Naples (June 6, 1787). At once he set to work on the description of his second visit to Rome—that rich fruition of those golden Italian days. In 1819 and 1820 he began to plan the work, but not until 1828–29 did he really succeed in carrying it out.[1] At last *Zweyter Römischer Aufenthalt* appeared in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* (1829).[2] Thus we see that from the time of his return in 1788 almost to his death Italy continued to occupy his mind.

Turning now to a comparison of the *Italienische Reise* and the *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt*[3] with the *Tagebücher*, we are struck with the following facts. First of all, when Goethe took up again in 1813 and 1814 the thread of the earlier years, he consciously tried to reproduce the picture of Italy as he had conceived it during the years 1786–88. Consequently, in content and in spirit, the *Italienische Reise* and the *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt* are the same as the

[1] Meanwhile (1823) he had written "Architektonisch-naturhistorisches Problem" (HEMPEL, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 223 ff.), containing references to his trip to Naples.

[2] Further proof of his interest in all things Italian during these last years of his life is furnished by his essays on Italian literature, as, for instance, *Klassiker und Romantiker in Italien, sich heftig bekämpfend* (written 1818); his review of MANZONI'S *Il Conte di Carmagnola* (1820); and an essay on Dante (written 1826), etc. Moreover, during these years we find numerous articles on Italian artists, such as the one on Lionardo's "Last Supper" (1818), on "The Triumph of Caesar" by Mantegna (1823), and others.

[3] The other studies on Italy can, of course, be taken up only in so far as they serve to illustrate certain points.

Tagebücher, and reflect an Italy which strongly contrasts with that which the Romanticists were just then building up.[1] Hence Rome again is the focal point in his panorama; Florence, as before, is conspicuously neglected; Venice is essentially the Venice of Cochin; Verona attracts him mainly by its Roman ruins, and is overshadowed by Vicenza. Padua has no Giotto and no Donatello; in Assisi the mediæval ruins irritate him; and the smaller Tuscan towns—the joy of the modern traveler—appear as unimportant as ever. Even the masterly descriptions of Sicily and Naples, steeped as they are in southern color, imply no change of artistic predilection.[2] And with all his great appreciation of the beauty of Italian landscape, manifested in many passages of a highly poetical character, he does not enlarge the picture of Italy which he gave in 1786–88, although in the meantime many beautiful spots had been "discovered." Thus Nicolovius, the companion of Friedrich Stolberg, as early as 1796 described that Ischia which has since been a source of delight to all travelers, and which seems to have been unknown to Goethe.[3]

Secondly, we find in the *Italienische Reise* and the *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt* the same mental attitude which gave the *Tagebücher* their stamp. The deterministic method controls every page, thus putting them *en rapport* with the best elements of the great scientific movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[4] In this fashion

[1] When he takes up again the Italian notes, he writes to Zelter (December 27, 1814): "Ich hüte mich, so wenig als möglich daran zu ändern." Thus, as we see, he refrains from enriching his *Italienische Reise* with that larger knowledge which the years had brought him.

[2] Thus, for instance, Goethe had no eye for the great mediæval churches of Sicily, like the Cathedral of Monreale, to the modern traveler one of the jewels of the whole country, nor for the remnants of Saracen civilization.

[3] Cf. FRIEDLÄNDER, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[4] The fact that Goethe never deviated from his method of viewing Italy in the spirit which dominated Herder's *Ideen* becomes strikingly apparent in the course of his preparation for the second Italian trip. Thus he writes to Meyer (November 16, 1795): "Ich sehe schon die Möglichkeit vor mir einer Darstellung der physicalischen Lage, im allgemeinen und besondern, des Bodens und der Cultur, von der ältesten bis

Goethe's description of Italy is set apart from all the travels, both rationalistic and romantic, heretofore considered.[1] The numerous passages of the *Tagebücher* which attested this method of viewing Italy as a resultant of forces were merely transferred into the literary medium of the *Italienische Reise*. A striking proof of the advance in refinement of insight which marks the latter work beyond the former is found in a reflection made in Venice.[2] Gliding over the lagoons in the bright Venetian sunlight, he observes the brilliant lights, the clear shadows, the gaily clad gondoliers, and suddenly feels that he sees into the cause and origin of the peculiar note of the Venetian school of painting:

> Es ist offenbar, das sich das Auge nach den Gegenständen bildet, die es von Jugend auf erblickt, und so muss der Venezianische Maler Alles klarer und heiterer sehen als andere Menschen. Wir, die wir auf einem bald schmutzkothigen bald staubigen, farblosen, die Widerscheine verdüsternden Boden und vielleicht gar in engen Gemächern leben, können einen solchen Frohblick aus uns selbst nicht entwickeln.[3]

Into the brilliant accounts of Sicily and Naples, of which there is but slight suggestion in the *Tagebücher*, the deterministic method enters in a subtle fashion, so that it becomes more difficult to adduce specific examples than in the case

zur neuesten Zeit, und des Menschen in seinem nächsten Verhältnisse zu diesen Naturumgebungen. Auch ist Italien eins von denen Ländern wo Grund und Boden bey allem was geschieht immer mit zur Sprache kommt. Höhe und Tiefe, Feuchtigkeit und Trockne sind bey Begebenheiten viel bedeutender und die entscheidenden Abwechselungen der Lage und der Witterung haben auf Cultur des Bodens und der Menschen, auf Einheimische, Colonisten, Durchziehende mehr Einfluss als in nördlichern und breiter ausgedehntern Gegenden." (Weimar ed., Vol. XXXIV, 2; pp. 142 f.) Cf. also letter to Schiller (*ibid.*, p. 142); also remark (p. 156): "Neueste Geographie von der Geschichte der Menschheit und ihrer Cultur unzertrennlich."

[1] How absolutely in harmony with Goethe's method of regarding all nature was his attitude toward Italy appears from his conceiving Sicily as the *Urform* of Italy—i. e., as the "type" of all Italian phenomena. SIEBECK (*Goethe als Denker* [Stuttgart, 1902], p. 72) has pointed out that Goethe made this utterance on Sicily at the very time when he was attempting to find the "Urform der Pflanze."

[2] HEMPEL, Vol. XXIV, p. 78.

[3] Such a passage connects Goethe with the author of the *Philosophie de l'art en Italie* and *Philosophie de l'art aux Pays-Bas*.

of the more crudely constructed *Tagebücher*. Thus, for instance, in the letters from Girgenti, Goethe's remarks on the geology, the fauna, the flora, the customs of the people, the history, and the art, imply no desire on his part to register disconnected facts, but are to be regarded rather as a proof of his comprehension of the phenomenon before him as an organism. In his characterization of Italian landscape—especially in the letters from Naples and Sicily—the scientific method is happily blended with the artistic. Thus, for instance, we read:

> Zwei Stunden vor Nacht war der Vollmond eingetreten und verherrlichte den Abend unaussprechlich. Die Lage von Palermo gegen Norden macht, dass sich Stadt und Ufer sehr wundersam gegen die grossen Himmelslichter verhält, deren Widerschein man niemals in den Wellen erblickt. Deswegen wir auch heute, an dem heitersten Tage, das Meer dunkelblau, ernsthaft und zudringlich fanden, anstatt dass es bei Neapel von der Mittagsstunde an immer heiterer, luftiger und ferner glänzt.[1]

This blending of elements, rarely found in the same person, which had given the *Briefe aus der Schweiz* their peculiar value, sets the *Italienische Reise* in this respect also altogether apart from Adler, Moritz, Heinse, Piozzi, Dupaty, and no less from Chateaubriand, Byron, and Shelley.

The third point of similarity between Goethe's two accounts is the autobiographical element, which in a sense is even enhanced in the later work, since this was planned as a continuation of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. While "travels" are by their very nature apt to be largely autobiographical—as we saw, for instance, in the records of Moritz, of de Brosses, of Mme de Bocage, and of Seume—no one before or since Goethe has so consciously and so successfully used his Italian experiences as a tool for laying bare his inner development.

[1] HEMPEL, Vol. XXIV, p. 218. The famous description of Vesuvius need hardly be discussed in detail. Other instances of the combination of scientific observation with artistic feeling are numerous; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 9, 22, 348, etc.

While he is sifting his material in 1816 he writes to Knebel: "Man kann erst später, wenn viele Jahre vorüber sind, bemerken, was für Einfluss ein solches Anschauen aufs ganze Leben gehabt hat."[1] And in his account of Verona he inserts: "Ich mache diese wunderbare Reise nicht, um mich selbst zu betriegen, sondern um mich an den Gegenständen kennen zu lernen."[2] Yet there is an essential difference between the spirit in which the *Italienische Reise* is conceived and that which animates *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. In his criticism of Johann Müller's autobiography (in his review of Lowe's *Bildnisse jetzt lebender Gelehrten, mit ihren Selbstbiographien*[3]) Goethe laid down the principles which should guide a great man in giving to the world the facts of his life. He should not fail, Goethe says, to paint the historic background against which his own actions must be conceived. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he carries out this principle, as appears, for instance, from his treatment of the Seven Years' War, and of the influence of Lessing. In the *Italienische Reise* he abandons it. The death of Frederick the Great is merely mentioned in passing; the policy of Pius VI in encouraging the Inquisition as a reaction against Ganganelli, and the opposition to this policy through the influence of science and Voltairism, do not enter into his account at all.[4] The attention of the reader is concentrated upon the intellectual evolution of the author. For this reason also the omission of the passages from the *Tagebücher* which bore on his personal relations with Frau von Stein and others cannot (as Wauer, p. 23, would have it) be felt as a real loss.

[1] *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Knebel* (Leipzig, 1851), Part II, p. 186.

[2] HEMPEL, Vol. XXIV, p. 38.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXIX, pp. 117 ff.

[4] And he hardly touches upon the Italian literature of his day (Goldoni, Alfieri, etc.), nor upon the scholarship, as has been pointed out by LOCELLA ("Goethe in Italien," *Berichte des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt a/M.*, 1891, pp. 28 ff.)

Fourthly, the pronounced views on art which the *Tagebücher* had set forth are found again not only unchanged, but rather strengthened in their bias.[1] The well-known attack on Gothic architecture,[2] and the contempt for northern predilection for the picturesque and the humble,[3] are significant additions to the *Tagebücher*. His contempt for the mediæval ruins of Assisi[4] appears again in the *Italienische Reise* in language as strong, though more dignified.[5] The *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt* reflects the same views. Again antiquity and the High Renaissance occupy his entire attention, and at any chance encounter with remains of the Middle Ages he feels repelled.[6] He now passes by the new school of art-criticism, which had meanwhile risen to the zenith of its power and influence, with a smile of amusement, as a mature man gazes on the conceits of childhood.[7]

But whereas in content and in spirit the *Italienische Reise* marks no change from the *Tagebücher*, in form it is built upon different principles, and for this reason takes a different position in the history of Italian travel. While the *Tagebücher* were mere jotting of notes with no thought of effect, the *Italienische Reise* is a conscious work of art.

[1] In writing to Boisserée (November 19, 1814) concerning his earlier views, he feels he has "wenig Falsches zu bedauern, nur manches Einseitige zu belächeln."

[2] "Unsere kauzenden, auf Kragsteinlein über einander geschichteten Heiligen der gothischen Zierweisen, ... unsere Tabakspfeifensäulen, spitze Thürmlein und Blumenzacken . . . . " (p. 79).

[3] "Manchmal erinnere ich mich, wie der Künstler in Norden den Strohdächern und verfallenen Schlössern etwas abzugewinnen sucht, wie man sich an Bach und Busch und zerbröckeltem Gestein herumdrückt, um eine malerische Wirkung zu erhaschen, und ich komme mir ganz wunderbar vor, ... " (p. 162 f.). In Palermo he rejoices at the thought of having rid himself permanently of all this "Kleinheit" (p. 219). Nevertheless, in Naples he longs for the brush of Van der Neer to portray a scene of complex light effects on the Bay (p. 325; not found in *Tagebücher*).

[4] *Tagebücher*, p. 204. 21 ff. [5] *I. R.*, p. 106. [6] Cf. his trip to the Catacombs (p. 504).

[7] The fact that in 1817 appeared GOETHE AND MEYER'S essay *Neu-deutsche religios-patriotische Kunst* gives special significance to these utterances, and seems to me to show that they were not meant merely as a conscious reproduction of the art-views of 1786, but rather as an attack upon the theories of the Schlegels and of the "Nazarener." Perhaps for the same reason Goethe strengthens the expression of his admiration for the Bolognese school (pp. 92 and 95), so harshly attacked by these young critics (cf. KLENZE, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

It may not be amiss to look back for a moment on the history of Italian "travels" from this point of view. The seventeenth century, as we have seen, almost totally lacked the ability to describe with any artistic power. Information for its own sake fills the pages of Evelyn, of Coryate, of Zeiller, and even of Lalande. With the second half of the eighteenth century, with the rise of Romanticism and of the conviction that feeling is more vital than fact and that to produce sensation is more important than to convey information, descriptions of Italy take on tone and color hitherto unknown. The most pleasing of the earlier of these literary descriptions is that of Moritz, with his warm appreciation of color, his love of the wild and lonely in nature, and his dawning sense of the dramatic element in history. Mrs. Piozzi and Dupaty give to their accounts a tinge of hysteria which, however genuine, is felt to be not unconscious of its effect upon the reader. The Romanticists, Chateaubriand and Lamartine, and above all Byron, deliberately select for their descriptions such scenes, and phrase their depictions in such terms, as will inevitably put their reader into a certain mood and tincture for him the entire country in one distinct color. The last-named especially, in his *Childe Harold*, makes of Italy, with her historic ruins and tragic fate, the mouthpiece of his theatrically pessimistic *Weltanschauung*. However different in point of view and method of interpretation, the *Italienische Reise*, in as far as, through rearrangement of the original material, it becomes a conscious work of art, belongs to this group. For Goethe also did not attempt to give a dictionary account of Italy in Lalande-Baedeker style, but tried to build up for the reader an organic Italy which was to show what an inspiration this country had been to the author.[1]

[1] To understand, however, the vast difference between Goethe's viewpoint and that of the Romanticists just compared with him, we can do no better than to quote his own words, in which he contrasts the ancients and the moderns: "Sie stellten

The most striking instance of rearrangement for artistic effect in the *Italienische Reise* is to be found in the fashion in which Goethe acquaints the reader with his introduction into Rome. In the *Tagebücher* we feel that the first impressions of the Eternal City overwhelmed him. There are no letters for several days after his arrival, then two on the same day, containing somewhat incoherent and disordered statements on the complexity of Rome, on its picturesqueness and its grandeur, on the loggie of Raphael, on Goethe's acquaintance with some young artists, on the difficulty of "picking" the old Rome out of the new—all intermingled with miscellaneous comments on his private affairs. In great contrast, the *Italienische Reise* in finished phrase depicts the arrival in Rome as the climax of the poet's life up to that day. Far from instantly plunging into details, he stops to take a retrospective view that shows this moment to be, not only the consummation of his most ardent desires, but the crowning event of a series of maturing experiences. He then carefully proceeds to introduce us to the complex

die Existenz dar, wir gewöhnlich den Effekt; sie schilderten das Fürchterliche, wir schildern fürchterlich, sie das Angenehme, wir angenehm, u. s. w." (*Italienische Reise*, p. 307). Nothing could better bring out the difference between a Goethe and a Byron. In the face of a tendency to hysteria, Goethe maintains an objective method which connects him with what was best in the eighteenth century, and, as we shall see later, with some of the best elements of modern times, more closely than with most of the contemporaries of the *Italienische Reise*, like Chateaubriand and Niebuhr. Remarkably enough, one of the first to recognize the charm of this objectivity was HEINE, in *Nordsee* (1826; *Works*, ed. by ELSTER, Vol. III, pp. 98 f.). Part of Goethe's objectivity becomes manifest in his ability to see life in decay. Whereas Chateaubriand, Byron, etc., revel in the ruin of Italy—particularly of Rome and Venice—Goethe writes from Rome: "Wir konnten in allgemeinster Betrachtung nicht traurig an dem Zerstörten vorübergehen, vielmehr hatten wir uns zu freuen, dass so viel erhalten, so viel wiederhergestellt war, prächtiger und übermässiger, als es je gestanden" (p. 455); and even more significantly: "Es darf uns nicht niederschlagen, wenn sich uns die Bemerkung aufdringt, das Grosse sei vergänglich; vielmehr wenn wir finden, das Vergangene sei gross gewesen, muss es uns aufmuntern, selbst etwas von Bedeutung zu leisten, das fortan unsere Nachfolger, und wär' es auch schon in Trümmer zerfallen, zu edler Thätigkeit aufrege, woran es unsere Vorvordern niemals haben ermangeln lassen" (p. 456). In this connection may also be quoted the beautiful passage in a letter to Nees von Esenbeck (1825): "Man mag so gern das Leben aus dem Tode betrachten, und zwar nicht von der Nachtseite, sondern von der ewigen Tagseite her, wo der Tod immer vom Leben verschlungen wird" (quoted by BOUCKE, *Wort und Bedeutung in Goethes Sprache* [Berlin, 1901], p. 188).

world of Rome, to make us understand which features were most vital to him.[1] More striking still is the manner in which he arranges his notes in such a fashion as to furnish a piece of literary art in the treatment of Naples and of Sicily. In the *Tagebücher* only a few meager sketches occur. The *Italienische Reise*, however, gives chapters surpassing anything that has ever been written on these places. No one before or after Goethe has ever succeeded in rendering so adequately the *anima* of Naples, with all its natural beauty, its naïve sensuousness, its color, its dirt, its tinsel, and, above all, its pagan joyousness. And he pictures it as the product of a marvelous climate that is bound to produce conditions altogether different from those of the North. With this brilliant canvas he closes his Italian journey, as with a striking climax, not touching upon his second stay in Rome, nor the cities which he visits on his return trip—a form of procedure which would never have occurred to faithful chroniclers like Burnet, Keyssler, and Lalande, nor even to Heinse, Seume, or Stolberg.

The *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt* as a piece of autobiography[2] is even more faithful than the *Italienische Reise;* as a work of art it falls below it. With its element of anecdote (the "Mailänderin"), its sententiousness (often found in the "Berichte"), it naturally associates itself with the *Wanderjahre.*

We may say then, before, for the present at least, leaving the *Italienische Reise* and the *Zweite Römische Aufenthalt*, that they are essentially an exponent of eighteenth-century

[1] *Italienische Reise*, pp. 114 ff.; cf. *Tagebücher*, pp. 213 ff. As a part of this introduction to Rome, he inserts the meeting with Meyer (p. 119), although in fact it occurred later.

[2] Goethe claims for this stay the greatest share of the influence which the trip had upon him. "In Rom hab' ich mich selbst zuerst gefunden, ich bin zuerst übereinstimmend mit mir selbst, glücklich und vernünftig geworden" (p. 485). And to the duke he writes (March 17, 1788): "Ich habe mich in dieser anderthalbjährigen Einsamkeit selbst wiedergefunden; aber als was? Als Künstler!"

culture. It was left for the nineteenth century, in its first decades, as we saw above, somewhat to enlarge the Italy appreciated by its predecessors (cf. Arndt, Matthison, etc.), and to interpret its picturesqueness. The second half of the new century was to conquer every nook and corner of the country for modern culture, and, furthermore, was to apply to the criticism of her art that deterministic method which Goethe so brilliantly applied to all her other phenomena.[1]

[1] Goethe himself on a few occasions seemed to be on the point of becoming a pioneer in this latter direction, as he had been in so many others. So in the famous passage of the *Tagebücher* (p. 187. 4 ff.) he urges the study of the predecessors of Raphael (repeated in *Italienische Reise*, p. 93). In viewing the ruins of the temples at Paestum he feels that it is necessary to put himself into the spirit of the times "deren Geist solche Bauart gemäss fand" (p. 208; cf. also a passage on p. 158 on the necessity of studying the various epochs of Greek art historically). What prevented him from applying this method broadly, was his *a priori* premise of the absolute validity of Greek standards of beauty

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN TIMES

In the eighteenth century it was the scientific spirit which, through Goethe, had brought about a new conception of Italy. The most important contribution to the interpretation of Italy on the part of the nineteenth century flows from the great historical movement; for through its influence the picture of Italy was enlarged, and all her civilizations were understood as resultants of historical forces. The work of men like Raumer, Burckhardt, Symonds, etc., by deepening and spreading the understanding of the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance, helped to fill out the canvas, partly by "discovering" new places, like Assisi, Monreale, Foggia, Urbino, Cortona, and Lecce, partly by bringing to the fore neglected sections of well-known places, like the Dome of Palermo or the Chapel of Giotto in Sta. Croce in Florence. Hence, Italy grows to be regarded as pre-eminently the place where the traveler is in contact with human experiences both historical and artistic.[1]

The first masterly[2] and the most influential exponent of the appreciation of Italy that regards every nook of it as an interesting human document was Ferdinand Gregorovius, the author of *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*. His

[1] This understanding brings the new movement directly in touch with Romanticism; with, however, this notable difference, that the men of the modern time exhibit an intellectual rather than a purely sentimental interest, based on a large body of information; not, however, information for its own sake, as with the Rationalists, but information on the basis of insight and mellowed by emotion. In other words, our age has entered into the rich heritage of Rationalism plus Romanticism.

[2] In the second half of the nineteenth century the records of Italian travel become countless. We shall select only those which reflect important currents of modern culture.

Wanderjahre in Italien covers a wide range of interest, as the enumeration of some of the essays of which the book is composed will show: "Die Insel Elba" (1852); "Der Ghetto und die Juden in Rom" (1853); "Idyllen vom Lateinischen Ufer" (1854); "S. Marco in Florenz," "Die Insel Capri" (1853); "Subiaco, das älteste Benedictinerkloster des Abendlandes" (1858); "Aus den Bergen der Herniker" (1858); "Aus den Bergen der Volsker" (1860). Volume III is called "Siciliana: Wanderungen in Neapel und Sicilien" (1861). It contains, among other things, chapters on the Arabic and Norman periods of Palermo's history, and one devoted to the Dome of Monreale. Volume IV is called "Von Ravenna bis Mentana," and contains a chapter on Ravenna (1863) and one called "Streifzug durch die Sabina und Umbrien" (1861). Volume V is called "Apulische Landschaften," and contains essays on "Benevent" (1874–75), "Manfredonia," "Lecce" (1875), and "Tarent" (1874–75).

Because of the exceptional range of his observation, Gregorovius may be regarded as the greatest power in enlarging the picture of Italy. At a leap the comparatively narrow Italy of Goethe and even of the Romanticists becomes a large and complex phenomenon, a conglomerate of interesting details: Ravenna, the seat of Gothic dominion and of the Byzantine Empire in the West; Foggia, Lerice, Manfredonia, all reminiscent of the great Hohenstaufen tragedy; every detail of that Sicily which as a human document was most poetic, most pathetic, where Carthaginian and Greek, Arab and Norman, Suabian, Frenchman, and Spaniard wrangled and builded. Nor is it merely the historical interest which attracts Gregorovius. His sense for the beauties of landscape, and his feeling for many of the phenomena of popular life (as, for instance, the songs and poetry of the lower classes) enrich his picture. But with

him—in contrast with Lalande—vast information is everywhere made attractive by a rich and glowing style which casts a glamor of novelty even over things most familiar and makes new phenomena irresistibly fascinating. Gregorovius' book is, with those of de Brosses, Goethe, and Taine, the most readable description of Italy. Hence his influence even today is potent. Thus, to a master of style like Bourget (*Sensations d'Italie*) he became a guide and the elucidator of many an obscure detail. René Schneider, too, is stimulated by him, and writes an entire book on a little section of Umbria (*L'Ombrie*, 1905).

To illustrate Gregorovius' charm we cannot do better than to quote a few of his most characteristic passages. In his *Siciliana* he describes a scene from a ruined castle of Palermo:

Ich habe wol nie einen so hinreissenden Anblick genossen, als den von dem platten Dach dieses Saracenenschlosses auf das Rundgemälde von Palermo, seine Ebene, seine Küsten und Berge. Es ist eine Schönheit, die alles übertrifft was man sich vorstellen mag, und die ausschweifendste Phantasie reicht nicht an die Zauber dieser Feenwelt. Hier ist alles in einen mässigen Rahmen überschaulich zusammengefasst; denn um die ganze Conca d'Oro, die goldene Muschel von Palermo, stehen diese flimmernden Berge, braun und ernst, köstlich gefaltet, wie von dorischem Meissel ausgeschlagen; zu ihren bronzenen Füssen grüne Orangenhaine und Lusthäuser in Gärten; die hochgetürmte und gekuppelte Stadt am Meere hin; das Meer in die Ferne hinein, silberbläulich und lichtausatmend, und dort mächtig hingelagert der zackige, dunkelhäuptige Pellegrino, jenseits aber das funkelnde Kap Zaffarana mit seinen Türmen und schön ausgeschnittenen Vorsprüngen, und silberweisse Bergspitzen darüberhinaus durch die Lichtnebel blinkend, ein feiner, ätherischer Duftschleier über der ganzen stillen Natur wonnig verbreitet. Es ist Land, Licht, Luft und Meer des Orients, und blickt man von der Zisa in die Gärten hinunter, so möchte man wähnen, es sollten nun daraus hervorkommen schöne, arabische Mädchen mit Mandolinenschall, und langbärtige Emire im roten Kaftan, mit gelben Schuhen. Man könnte hier

wahrlich zum Leben ausreichen mit der Weisheit des Koran und der des Hafis.[1]

His treatment of the history of towns is perhaps nowhere more remarkable than in his account of Ravenna:

Die Städte Italiens stellen fast durchweg die zwei grossen Epochen der Geschichte dieses Landes in ihren Denkmälern dar: das römische Altertum und das christliche Mittelalter. Nur Ravenna ist das Monument des Ueberganges aus der einen Epoche in die andere, und deshalb von unvergleichlichem Wert. Das römische Kaisertum in der Zeit seines Falles unter die Germanen, die erste Gründung des germanischen Königtums von Italien auf den Trümmern jenes Römerreichs, die 60jährige Herrschaft der Ostgothen, und die ihr folgende zwei Jahrhunderte umfassende Despotie der Byzantiner, alle diese Epochen haben in jener einen Stadt ihr Theater gehabt, und noch zahlreiche Denkmäler ihrer Geschichte in ihr zurückgelassen. Wer nach Ravenna kommt und diese Monumente so alter Zeit sieht, Grabmäler des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts, Kirchen stralend von Musiven ebenderselben Zeit, wird von ihnen fast so ergriffen wie von den Resten Pompeji's. Und in der That Ravenna ist das Pompeji der gothischen und byzantischen Epoche.[2]

His constructive imagination, but also his honest attempt at embracing and comprehending reality when this is in opposition to theory, are observable in the following passage:

Wie wird eine solche Stadt aussehen welche das Denkmal solcher Zeiten und Thaten ist? Sie wird finsterer und melancholischer sich darstellen als das hochgetürmte Bologna. . . . . Wenn wir nun eintreten, erfahren wir auch hier dass die Wirklichkeit sich zur eingebildeten Vorstellung immer ironisch verhält, und dass diese eine gewisse Zeit braucht um sich zu reinigen und der reellen Gestalt der Dinge ganz mächtig zu werden. . . . . Erst wenn man dessen Denkmäler aufsucht und hin und her darin wandert, fühlt man das Wehen des Hauchs alter Vergangenheit in solcher Macht, wie etwa nur in Rom allein, wo der geschichtliche Geist freilich ein universaler ist, während er in Ravenna nur einer Periode angehört, aber diese ist hier einzig ausgedrückt und vertreten.[3]

[1] *Wanderjahre*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 105 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV (1876), pp. 3 f.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 f.

A passage that illustrates at the same time the author's intense sensitiveness to the beauties of Italian landscape, his feeling for the historic suggestions of places, and his power of reproducing in word and phrase the glowing color and noble contours of an Italian scene is found in his *Idyllen vom Lateinischen Ufer:*

Ja, diese Meereseinsamkeit überschleicht unversehens das Gemüt! Jene feinen, sanften Uferlinien, welche in Meilenweite sich in Duft verlieren, jener weiche und schimmernde Sand, dies wolig rauschende Meer in seinem Farbenspiel, das Märchenhafte Cap der Circe drüben, welches als Insel wie ein grosser Saphir herüberfunkelt, die fernen kleinen Ponza-Eilande, die ihre blauen Gipfel wie Blumenglocken kaum aus den Wellen erheben, hundert weisse Segel, welche kommen, gehen und dahinschwinden, der melancholische Gesang der Fischer, Flöten- und Harfenklänge—wahrlich! die ganze Welt draussen dürfte mit glühenden Bomben und Raketen beschossen werden, hier spürte man es nimmer. . . . . Wenn ich im Fenster meines Zimmers liege, vor welchem die neapolitanischen Fischer auf dem weissen Sande sitzen, und die Netze ausbessern, thut sich der ganze herrliche Golf vor mir auf, und ich sehe das lieblichste Ufer vor mir bis zum Circeischen Cap. . . . . Die Linie der Ufer wird nun immer sanfter, feiner und länger ausgezogen; an ihrem Ende steht in traumhafter Ferne ein kleines weisschimmerndes Schloss. Dies Castell breitet um Küste und Meer eine melancholische Stimmung aus, wie das Cap der Circe homerische Poesie verbreitet. . . . . Ist es doch jener einsame Turm von Astura, wo der letzte Hohenstaufe, Konradin, nach der verlorenen Schlacht von Tagliacozzo hinüberfloh, ... an jenem Turm sank die Sonne der Hohenstaufen in das Meer.[1]

Here we have what Bourget calls "le sentiment de l'histoire."

But Gregorovius stands as distinctly apart from Romanticism of the Byron type as he does from Rationalism, though he has something in common with both movements; for everywhere we feel in his picture the connection between the historical event and its landscape setting—very clearly instanced in the first passage quoted above. But with him

[1] Vol. I (1874), pp. 125 f.

that is a subconscious artistic habit which in later decades was to become a critical and consciously applied instrument.[1]

In his love for the details of Italy, Gregorovius was merely the most powerful exponent of a marked tendency in our generation, as appears from works like John Addington Symonds' *Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe*.[2] Here various parts of the peninsula are treated much in the spirit of Gregorovius. Not only is the historical importance of places like Siena, Perugia, Orvieto, and Amalfi dwelt upon, but less well-known towns—like Ajaccio, Rimini, Canossa, Crema, and Bergamo—are deemed worthy of detailed and loving study. Like Gregorovius, though less felicitous in expression than he, Symonds is sensitive to the *anima* of the various cities. This is also very apparent in another book by him, *Italian Byways*,[3] the very title of which is significant. For here, in the same spirit as in the sketches, are described places like Spezzia, Porto Venere, Lerici, Montefalco, Foligno, Spello, Cortona, and Chiusi. The author of *The Renaissance in Italy* takes particular delight in characterizing the town of Frederick of Urbino and his palace. Symonds' book is an attractive and intellectual treatment of those "byways" of which the eighteenth century knew naught.[4]

The great original mind who consciously and consistently correlated phenomenon and environment, and thus developed a method which was foreshadowed in Gregorovius, was Hippolyte Taine. He says: "Rien ne m'a plus intéressé dans les villas romaines que leurs anciens maîtres. Les naturalistes le savent, on comprend très-bien l'animal d'après la coquille."[5]

[1] Cf. R. M. MEYER, *Die deutsche Litteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1900), p. 385.

[2] I used the New York edition of 1880. [3] I used the New York edition of 1883.

[4] Closely akin to the work of Symonds are two little books by E. A. FREEMAN. The great historian searches the peninsula and in many small places there discovers valuable remnants of a great past. (*Historical and Architectural Sketches, Chiefly Italian* [London, 1876]; *Sketches from the Subject and the Neighbour Lands of Venice* [London, 1881].)

[5] *Voyage en Italie*, Vol. I (Paris, 1905), p. 231.

He thus defines his fashion of looking at things in a letter written from Italy (April 7, 1864):

> La connaissance du passé et des vieilles mœurs me sert de milieu pour reconstituer et voir vivre les créateurs des belles œuvres; j'arrive à sentir l'œuvre par un détour; les figures et les formes entrent dans un système d'idées et d'observations qui leurs donnent un relief.[1]

The *Voyage en Italie*[2] may in a sense be regarded as the great complement of Goethe's *Italienische Reise*. For Taine feels it his business to comprehend every artistic phenomenon in Italy as the resultant of physical and, especially, historical forces. He does not pass judgment or seek to formulate canons of taste. At the very beginning (he went directly from Marseilles to Cività Vecchia in 1864), upon viewing St. Peter's he refrains from expressing any merely subjective opinion, and seeks to comprehend the spirit which had conceived this monument. "Les gens qui ont fait Saint-Pierre étaient des païens qui avaient peur d'être damnés, rien de plus;"[3] and of the interior of St. Peter's he says: "une salle de spectacle, la plus vaste, la plus magnifique du monde, par laquelle une grande institution étale aux yeux sa puissance. Ce n'est pas l'église d'une religion, mais l'église d'un culte."[4] Similarly, in the discussion of the Gesù Church he does justice to this baroque form of architecture as the expression of a worldly mood, which, however lacking in true faith, was full of esprit and originality. (De Brosses had admired the building from elective affinity, without such fine insight and discrimination.)

In this spirit Taine approaches all works of art. He himself says: "Toutes les grandes choses un peu lointaines correspondent à des sentiments que nous n'avons plus."[5] Every art is to him an epitome of the age which produced it:

[1] *H. Taine: Sa vie et sa correspondance* (Paris, 1904), Vol. II, p. 290.
[2] First edition, Paris, 1866. [3] Vol. I, p. 21. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 23. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Toujours, lorsqu'un art règne, l'esprit des contemporains en contient les éléments propres, tantôt des idées et des sentiments, si cet art est la poésie ou la musique, tantôt des formes et des couleurs, si cet art est la sculpture ou la peinture. Partout l'art et l'esprit se rencontrent; c'est pour cela que le premier exprime le second et le second produit le premier.[1]

Even Raphael, admiration for whom in the eighteenth century had been regarded as axiomatic, is studied by Taine in the same manner. His "Stanze" Taine at first finds incomprehensible, until by a study of the literature and the life of the time he creates for himself the conditions which had produced these paintings. Then he sees:

Il [Raphael] errait dans un monde tout florissant de force, de joie et de jeunesse comme la cité antique, mais où la pureté, la candeur, la bonté d'une inspiration nouvelle répandaient un charme inconnu, sorte de jardin dont les plantes avaient la vigueur et la sève païenne, mais où les fleurs demi-chrétiennes s'ouvraient avec un sourire plus timide et plus doux.

Then he exclaims: "A présent je puis aller regarder ses œuvres."[2] The modern spirit comes to the fore in the total rejection of "législateurs en matière de beauté, de plaisir et d'émotion."[3] As long as an artist is deep and passionate in feeling, and expresses himself without reserve and with mastery of technique, Taine is satisfied, whether the work be modern or ancient, Gothic or classic. He is most affected by "force héroïque et effrénée," as found in certain works of Michael Angelo and Rubens; then again by "la beauté de la volupté et du bonheur," as found in certain works of the Venetians; and perhaps even more by "l'audacieuse peinture de la fange et de la misère humaines," by "la poésie de la lumière trouble et septentrionale," as in the works of Rembrandt.[4] But he is no less alive to the forms of architecture and painting which are a mirror of the mystic spirit of the Middle Age. In Assisi he exclaims concerning the middle

[1] Vol. I, p. 177. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 181 f. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

one of the three churches of St. Francis: "Je donnerais pour ce caveau toutes les églises de Rome."[1] He contrasts the art-ideal of antiquity and of the Middle Ages, and does justice to both. Thus he gives in brilliant and sympathetic fashion the scientific basis for the famous intuitions of the Schlegels.

It is this ability to enter into the spirit of every age which enables Taine to delight in Siena as the "Pompéi du moyen âge." The dome there is to him "la plus admirable fleur du gothique."[2] Very delicate is his apprehension of the peculiar charm of the southern Gothic; less grand than the northern, it is an expression of that inalienable joyousness of temperament so characteristically Italian. In his chapter on Florence, Taine makes us feel more keenly than any who had preceded him the great rôle which the city on the Arno has played in European culture. He does this by most vividly rendering its many-sided individuality: by conjuring up, on the one hand, the times of street brawls and physical force—the times that built up the Palazzo Vecchio; on the other hand, by reminding us that the grace and loveliness of Florence are largely due to the fact that, in contrast with Pisa and Genoa, and even Rome, the joy of living, esprit, and good taste never quite died out there. After the Renaissance, Florence was much like Athens under the Caesars. In a suggestive and discriminating chapter on Florentine art he throws out many a stimulating and original remark. Florence, with its vigor and originality, impressed him; Bologna, with its school of eclectic painters, he calls "sad with the sadness of a provincial town." The Bolognese artists he explains as products of an enfeebled generation that had produced so morbid a person as Tasso. Virility and strong passions had been crushed by the wars and the Inquisition; in consequence,

[1] Vol. II, p. 22. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

only sentimentality and rhetoric were left. It is the age that gave birth to the opera. With all due respect for the great talent of a Dominichino and a Guido, he feels that these men must remain unsatisfactory. A very different tone, this, from the shrill invective of a Menzel or of a Ruskin.

Like Gregorovius—although his interest lies in a very different field—Taine is most happy in his characterization of Ravenna, where his method finds a wide scope. Apropos of S. Apollinare and S. Vitale, he conjures up the sumptuous puerility and dazzling senility of the Byzantine Empire, and shows how the mosaics are the work of decadents, who were, however, still influenced by Greek traditions. With consummate skill he describes the sadness of the place, its marshy, uncleanly environs, and the degeneracy and—as in the Germanic ruins—barbarity of its art. In Padua he draws interesting contrasts between the "douceurs plattes" of its life in the nineteenth century and the stirring times of Ezzelino, of Dante, and of Giotto.

The climax of the book as a literary production is reached in the chapter on Venice. The whole individuality of this city seizes upon his intellect and upon his senses. Here he learns, as nowhere else, to admire the wonderful originality of the human mind, and feels compelled to admit that it can violate all possible rules and yet produce something satisfactory. In this part of the book an undercurrent of Taine's temperament and style comes to the surface. Feeling and imagination give a remarkable warmth to these pages, as, for instance, in the description of a gondola ride and of a plunge into the calli, and in his declaration that here, for once, man may approach happiness ("on se sent prêt à être heureux").[1]

[1] He inserts a few pages on the shallow yet intelligent sybaritic *joie de vivre* of Venetian life of the eighteenth century, based on the memoirs of Goldoni, Gozzi, and Casanova. Protestants like Misson, he continues, "n'y comprennent rien et n'en rapportent que le scandale."

In his discussions of Verona his intellectual hospitality to every form of artistic expression leads him to a fine understanding of the once neglected Tombe degli Scaligeri and of S. Zeno, as well as of the beauty of the amphitheater and of its significance for the life of decaying Roman civilization. The Milan cathedral, which seems to defy all rules, nevertheless appears to him satisfactory, because of its intense individuality. Conventional criticism has no place here, he feels.

We may say, then, that since Goethe this is intellectually the most original work on Italy. For Taine applied to Italy, conceived as a culture-historical phenomenon, the same method which Goethe had applied to her, conceived as a physical phenomenon. Hence, the formula for Italy as an intellectual conception is Goethe–Taine. Moreover, Taine gave to the world in his *Voyage en Italie* a brilliant piece of literature. Few books have ever been written more readable, more vivid, more scintillating.

It might seem as if with Lalande, Goethe, Chateaubriand, Gregorovius, and Taine, all possible interpretations of Italy had been exhausted. To claim that, however, would be to overlook a significant group who use the intellectual achievements of the past generations as a substructure for the artistic rendition of personal sensations. This intensely personal note is nothing new, as it goes back to the time of Dupaty and Byron. Kotzebue had declared that the individual impressions which one receives are the only things worth writing about in a book of "travels." In the course of the nineteenth century this note is on the increase.[1] In

[1] A sub-chapter of modern literature of travel is formed by a large class who go to Italy with no other aim than to enjoy, and who record in chatty style their personal impressions. Their number is legion, and to attempt anything like a complete list would be fntile. A few might he mentioned, either hecause of their famous names or for their attractive style. Here belong FELIX MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY'S *Reisebriefe aus den Jahren 1830–32* (I know only the second edition, Leipzig, 1862); GAUDY'S "Mein Römerzug" (1835) aud his "Portagalli: Reise und Lebenshilder

these recent writers, however, emotion is mellowed by long intellectual discipline. Rich and varied information had by this time become common property, but it is with them merely an integral element of exquisite *Stimmung*. Conspicuous in this group are Guy de Maupassant, with his *Vie errante* (I know the "troisième édition," 1890); Bourget, with his *Sensations d'Italie* (the trip was taken in 1890), and René Schneider, with his *L'Ombrie: L'âme des cités et des paysages* (1905).

Maupassant gives nothing but his own sensations in charming fashion, everywhere exhibiting a keen and subtle feeling for *Stimmung* and for the picturesque, especially in Sicily. He, like the rest, enjoys classic or modern art in proportion as it evokes in him a certain delicious sensation. No canon of beauty, as with Goethe, no intellectual satisfaction, as with Taine, determines his approbation. The personal impression is his sole guide; but it is an educated impression, not an ignorant one like that of Evelyn of old.

ans Italien" (1838), both found in his *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1844). More important, because exhibiting considerable knowledge, are OTTO SPEYER'S *Bilder italienischen Landes und Lebens: Beiträge zur Physiognomik Italiens und seiner Bewohner* (Berlin, 1859). Intensely personal is *L'Italie d'hier: Notes de voyages 1855–1856*, by the brothers GONCOURT (Paris, 1894). We may be permitted to place here VISCHER'S *Kritische Gänge*, Neue Folge (Stuttgart, 1861), of which the first article is called "Eine Reise." In charming style, that exhibits a happy mixture of heart and intellect, he gives his Italian experiences. (The trip was taken in the spring of 1860.)

It may not be amiss here to recall the fact that among the hundreds who derive next to nothing from a sojourn in Italy there are even poets of fame. This is proved by WORDSWORTH'S series of poems called *Memorials of a Tour in Italy* (1837), and by that little epic by SAMUEL ROGERS called *Italy: A Poem* (1830), the illustrations of which by Turner, however, helped to inspire one of the great interpreters of the peninsula—Ruskin. The German poet Hebbel also had no message for the world resultant from his stay in the South.

How universal the love for Italy became in the nineteenth century, and to what extent it has grown to be part and parcel of the poet's material, becomes apparent from the most superficial perusal of modern literature. A mere glance at a few names will suffice: Geibel, Schack, Heyse, C. F. Meyer, Isolde Kurz, Ricarda Huch, etc.; George Eliot, the Brownings, Swinburne, Hewlitt, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, etc.; Alfred de Musset, Leconte de Lisle, Anatole France, Bourget, etc. In the works of fiction and of poetry the treatment of Italy as a background has undergone an evolution parallel to that of the "travels." We need but think of the difference between Musset's description of Venice and Anatole France's depiction of Florence, or between Shelley and Hewlitt.

Bourget strikes the keynote of his manner of thought in the title of his book, *Sensations d'Italie*. He may well be taken as the spokesman of certain significant currents of modern life and thought. As such, he may with profit be contrasted with Goethe. The scientific habit of thought which was Goethe's conscious joy has by this time become part and parcel of the very fiber of modern culture. Thus Bourget, who is hostile to the thought of science because he fears that it destroys faith, yet subconsciously applies it in his observations, as when he says: "La nature, qui travaille dans le monde social d'après les mêmes procédés que dans le monde animal ou végétal . . . ."[1] As a matter of course, this admirer of Taine applies the scientific method to historical phenomena. From Orvieto he writes:

> J'arrive d'une province où chaque ville avait sa vie individuelle, sa personne à part. C'est ici, au contraire, l'entrée dans les États romains, sur un sol de soumission, de gouvernement venu d'en haut. La spontanéité de la vie locale était moins forte. La sève de l'art a failli tarir.[2]

But while to Goethe intellectual apprehension is a constant source of uplift, Bourget travels mainly to feel. He "feels" history, he "feels" landscape, he "feels" cities. Fed by wide reading, his range of feeling is very great. Greek antiquity affects him—not, however, because of its control and calm, as had been the case with Goethe, but because of its exquisite refinement. The Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance thrill him to the heart, and he goes far out of his way to come in contact with that mediæval mysticism, resignation, and unquestioning faith which he misses in modern life. He fairly caresses the sensations evoked by such places. Significantly he waits before entering Assisi for "un ciel assez doux . . . . parce que la ville de saint François ne peut être abordée et sentie qu'avec certaines nuances de lumière."[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 71. [2] P. 111. [3] P. 137.

Has ever anyone felt and interpreted the charm of the small Tuscan towns as did Bourget—that "charme . . . . gracieux tout ensemble et tragique, du moyen âge italien"?[1] Montepulciano is a "véritable bijou de guerre d'une joliesse féroce."[2] Yet, with all its author's inner resources, there is in this book not a trace of the Hellenic serenity and calm strength that illumine the pages of the *Italienische Reise.* Over the author of *Cruel Énigme* there hovers some of the graceful melancholy which haunted late Hellenistic culture.

In many respects René Schneider, with his *L'Ombrie,* complements Bourget. The subtitle of his book, *L'âme des cités et des paysages*, seems to stamp him as Bourget's disciple. His entire work, of nearly three hundred pages, is devoted to a loving interpretation of the small strip of Umbria lying between Perugia and Spoleto, "aussi peu connue qu'elle est belle," which appeals to him because it has remained "dans une solitude presque arcadienne." He continues: "Et c'est tant mieux: car elle a mieux gardé sa physiognomie et son âme. Cette âme, j'essaie de la faire voir, et de la faire aimer"[3]—an attempt in which he undoubtedly succeeds. He presents to us places already well known in a fashion which arouses for them new sensations, and he goes even farther than Gregorovius in the search of neglected spots redolent of beauty and historic association. On the whole, his emotions seem to us far less affected with morbidity than those of Bourget.

No less sensitive than Bourget and Schneider, but representing an altogether different point of view, is Victor Hehn in his *Italien: Ansichten und Streiflichter.*[4] The germ of this work may be traced back to 1844, to the essay *Ueber*

[1] P. 79.

[2] P. 80. How far the exquisite "sentiment de l'âme d'une ville" can go is perhaps best illustrated in D'ANNUNZIO'S *Il Fuoco.*

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. v f.

[4] First printed in *Baltische Monatschrift*, 1864; first German edition, with additions, Berlin, 1879.

die Physiognomie der italienischen Landschaft, the result of his first trip to Italy in 1839.[1] This first journey was followed by two others (1860 and 1863). The fruit of the three trips lies before us in this volume.

Although Hehn's *Italien* was synchronous with Gregorovius' first publications on Italy, we prefer to speak of it here at the very close of our study. For Hehn's book is the exponent of a point of view very nearly akin to that of Goethe; and the increased favor with which it is being received in Germany—the eighth edition, "sorgfältig durchgesehen," with a biographical introduction by Dehio, appeared in 1903—is a significant proof of a growing sympathy with Goethe's *Weltanschauung* on the part of cultured Germany of today.

A sketch of the content will show the similarity of method between Hehn and his great predecessor. In one of the first chapters ("Niederlande") the author characterizes the lowlands of northern Italy from the physical and the culture-historical point of view, constantly introducing references to classical antiquity. In "Felsboden" we are made acquainted with the rocky regions of Italy, especially in the south. These two chapters are complemented by one called "Vegetation," which with consummate adequacy characterizes the flora of Italy as an integral feature of the physiognomy of the country. In the next chapter ("Landschaft"), filled with the spirit of Goethe's "Freundschaft mit der Erde," Italian landscape is described as a beautiful picture into which all the features previously discussed enter as organic elements. In the following study he delicately defines "Architektur und Gärten" as the products of this landscape. To complete the canvas, he adds an essay on "Thiere." "Pro populo Italico" is not merely an apology for the Italian people, but

[1] There has now appeared a number of reflections and notes taken during this first trip (Stuttgart, 1894).

an attempt at understanding them in the sense in which he understood the vegetation and the animals. Hehn then adds, in thoroughly Goethean fashion, studies of the two places which appear to him most important—Rome and Sicily. These descriptions are a rare combination of delicacy and firmness of outline. An interesting chapter on "Sprache" closes the book proper.

The fascination of Hehn's *Italien* for our generation lies in the conception of Italy sketched above, but especially perhaps in the original and profound *aperçus*—they, too, conceived in the Goethean spirit—couched in language consciously modeled after Goethe's, and rivaling it in nobility of expression and sense of contour. The combination of the scientific and the æsthetic in Goethe's descriptions of nature we find again in many a page of Hehn. For instance:

> Der süditalische Wald ist klangvoll, von reinem Licht und Blau durchschimmert, in seinem Aufstreben, Beugen und Schaudern elastisch und nervig; oft gleicht er einem Tempelhain, nur da, wo er, wie auf dem Gneis- und Glimmerschieferboden des Sila-Gebirges, aus dürren Kiefern besteht, einem furchtbaren Gotte geweiht; meistens ist er mit Ranken und Gewinden geschmückt, mit wunderbarem Duft gefüllt.[1]

Delicate is his appreciation of the difference in the *anima* of landscape in the North and in the South. "Fragt man, wie sich Bergformen, Himmel und Vegetation in Italien zu einer bestimmten Landschaftsphysiognomie verbinden, ... " he begins his study, and proceeds:

> Die phantasievollere Zeichnung, die in der gröbern Schweiz nur als Ausnahme erscheint, ... wird hier das durchgängige Gesetz. Der harte Eigensinn, die ungeschickt aufthürmende cyclopische Wuth ist getilgt; in Gestalten und Profilen herrscht eine reife Milde, plastischer Schwung, weicherer Wellenfluss, der aber den Ernst, die Bestimmtheit und Energie nicht ausschliesst. Es ist als ob die bauende Thätigkeit der Erde nach einer Periode

[1] P. 38.

wilder Umwälzungen, deren Spuren in den Alpen vorliegen, hier in dem klassichen Lande sich beruhigt und geklärt hätte.[1]

And he continues:

Während die Luftperspective in der mehr atmosphärischen Natur des Nordens die Formen stumpf, die Farben schmutzig, die Schatten schwer und trübe macht, nimmt hier das feinere, krystallene Medium allem Körperlichen die Schwere und giebt den Dingen zugleich Bestimmtheit und Leichtigkeit.[2]

Of the vegetation he says:

Zu diesem Himmel, dieser Gebirgsbildung stimmt denn auch Form und Farbe der Pflanzenwelt aufs Genaueste. Die italienische Vegetation ist starr, ernst und still, von gebundener, strenger Gestalt. . . . . Die beiden Hauptcharakterbäume des Südens, die Pinie und die Cypresse, sind beide ganz architektonisch gebaut; die Pinie als eine reingewölbte Kuppel, die Cypresse als schwarzer Obelisk aufstrebend oder als Pfeil oder Flamme gegen den Himmel gerichtet. Die Krone der Dattelpalme schwebt wie ein Springbrunnen in gebogenen Strahlen; wie ein Armleuchter ruht auf grüner Rosette der baumhohe Blüthenstengel der Agave. . . . . Alles ist fertig, lautlos, völlig gestaltet und darum ohne Streben und Verlangen.[3]

Rome he characterizes as follows:

Thürme und Flächen, Mauern und Ruinen, Cypressen und Pinien, Klöster, Kirchen, verwilderte Abhänge, befahrene und zertrümmerte Brücken, der wirbelnde, gelbe Strom, im Hintergrund die braune, von Aquädukten durchzogene, mit einzelnen Alterthümern und neuen Casales wie mit Punkten durchstickte Campagna und die blauen Berge—alle diese Elemente kehren in jeder römischen Aussicht wieder, aber immer anders neben- und übereinander geordnet, immer von einem neuen Rahmen umschlossen, zu einem eigenen Bilde sich sondernd, innig, und wehmüthig, von unaussprechlichem Reiz der Linien und Farben.[4]

In the study of Sicily his style may be said to have reached a climax of delicate dignity:

Es sind die blau duftigen Bergquellen und Falten und Gipfel, die einzelnen wie individuelle Charaktergestalten aus dem Gewirre sich hebenden wunderbaren Häupter, je nach dem Stande der

[1] P. 40. [2] P. 43. [3] P. 46. [4] P. 119.

Sonne und dem Zuge der Wolken braun oder grau oder röthlich und grünlich angehaucht, Abends die eingesogene Glut ausathmend, von keiner Vegetation bewegt oder gestört, gebildet im Geiste edler Grösse oder gefassten Ernstes, zuweilen auch der Erstarrung, wie die Niobe in Phrygien, immer so aetherisch und zart und zugleich streng und bestimmt, wie nirgends jenseits des Meeres im Norden. Hier befinden wir uns ahnend, ja mehr als ahnend, vielmehr schauend, mitten im griechischen Alterthum, nicht im späteren, in der Epoche anmuthigen Spieles, sondern in der strengen gebundenen Zeit des Aeschylus und Pindar, in der Zeit des altdorischen Tempelstiles, und der Furcht vor den Göttern. Wunderbar stimmt die Natur in und um Girgenti und Syrakus zu der Bedeutung dieser trümmer- und sagenreichen Stätten. . . . . Dieselbe starre Maske der höchsten Alterthümlichkeit, das edel schöne Medusenantlitz, wie es die antike Kunst geschaffen, trägt auch die Gegend, in der das einst semitische, dann griechische Syrakus stand.[1]

Yet in spite of its rare beauty, this book, with its indifference to the value of the Middle Ages, helps us to understand the importance of the historical movement of the century for all intellectual life. Moreover, it makes clearer than ever the contribution of a work like Taine's *Voyage en Italie* to a ripe understanding of Italy.

Our study has shown that, because of the complexity of Italy, the history of Italian travel furnishes a delicate and adequate commentary on the evolution of European culture of the last two centuries. Addison, de Brosses, Winckelmann, Lalande, Heinse, Dupaty, Chateaubriand, Goethe, Gregorovius, Taine, Bourget, Hehn—these together represent nearly all the important phases of culture-life since 1700. Moreover, some of these "travels" have permanently enriched the world's literature. Among them are: de Brosses' *Lettres*, with their Voltairean wit; Chateaubriand's *Voyage*, with its melodious melancholy; Goethe's *Italienische Reise*,

[1] P. 146.

with its mature serenity; Byron's *Childe Harold*, with its fiery rhetoric; Gregorovius' *Wanderjahre*, marshaling the pageant of history; Taine's *Voyage*, characterized by intellectual hospitality; Hehn's *Italien*, with its imperial distinction. Goethe's position here is unique. His *Italienische Reise* is the classical expression of that large German culture of the eighteenth century which in the spirit of the Renaissance tried to conquer the universe—and that by a critical method after which the Renaissance was only groping.

NOTE.—I regret not having had an opportunity to use JULIUS VOGEL'S edition of GOETHE'S *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise*, which appeared while this treatise was in press.

APPENDIX

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AMERICANS IN ITALY

It may not be uninteresting to sketch in outline the records which American travelers have left of their impressions of Italy. Here again we shall see that the interpretation of the peninsula furnishes an interesting test of the growth of culture. As early as 1805 we have *Letters from Europe during a Tour through Switzerland and Italy, in the years 1801 and 1802: Written by a native of Pennsylvania* (the author is supposed to be Joseph Lansom). This is a most commonplace account of a trip to Naples, Rome, etc. Evidently the whole experience was too foreign to our traveler to be of real value. The same is true of the first part of *Rambles in Italy; in the years 1816/17: By an American* (Baltimore, 1818). But in the course of his journey the author enters a little more into the spirit of the country. His taste in art is formed altogether on the canons of the eighteenth century. The Bolognese are highly praised; Guido's "Aurora" is pronounced inimitable; for Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" he apologizes. Yet the whole work, though not original in its judgments, shows genuine interest and a genuine desire to understand.

Fenimore Cooper, the author not only of *Leather-Stocking*, but also of *The Bravo*, is as dependent on eighteenth-century judgments of art as were his two fellow-countrymen just discussed. In his *Gleanings in Europe: Italy: By an American* (Philadelphia, 1838; published, like the other two, without the author's name) the Cathedral of Pisa is pronounced "a droll medley of beauty and bad taste," and Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" one of the most extraor-

dinary blendings of the grand and the monstrous in art. Yet, unlike Lansom, he is deeply impressed with the charm of Italian landscape and the dignity and mellowness of Italian cities, as contrasted with the crudeness of his native land.

But the first American who found in Italy new truth was Charles Eliot Norton. His *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* describe his sojourn in the peninsula from 1855 to 1857. This refined disciple of Ruskin altogether cuts loose from the eighteenth century and dwells with delight on the Early Renaissance, in Pisa, Orvieto, and elsewhere. He regrets the absence of the spiritual element in Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment," and despises the artists of the seventeenth century and of modern Italy. This book marks the entrance into the intellectual life of America of a serious interest in art and of new standards of taste. Consequently it is significant not only in the history of American travel in Italy, but in the evolution of American culture.

Strange to say, the author of *The Marble Faun* in the *Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (the author was in Italy in 1858) proves unsatisfactory. In contrast with Mr. Norton, he seems to feel a stranger in Italy. Steeped as he was in Puritan civilization, he shows no sense for the art and the historical associations of Italy. Hence his shrill protest in Rome, the glory of which never touched him, against "the dreariness, the ugliness, the shabbiness, un-home-likeness of a Roman street."

Far more in sympathy with Italian life is W. D. Howells, as appears in his *Venetian Life*, his *Italian Journeys*, and his *Tuscan Cities*. The first-named work goes into interesting details of the character of the city and of the life of the people. Mr. Howells was American consul in Venice from 1861 to 1865. It is the first detailed account of an Italian town by an American. Mr. Howells' description of Venice

is complemented by Henry James's characterization in his *Portraits of Places*. The latter author's *Italy Revisited* is full of delicate comments on Genoa, Spezia, Florence, Orvieto, and other cities.

Of recent years increased travel has brought Italy very near to American culture, as dozens of books—treatises, descriptions, novels, poems, etc.—attest. Among these should be mentioned some of Marion Crawford's novels, like *Saracinesca*, etc., and his treatises on Italian cities, like *Ave Roma Immortalis!*; also *Italian Cities*, by Mr. and Mrs. Blashfield; *The Last Refuge*, by H. B. Fuller, and, most important of all, Mrs. Wharton's *Valley of Decision*, *Italian Villas and Their Gardens*, and *Italian Backgrounds*.

INDEX

INDEX

Addison, 7 n. 1, 14 n. 1, 17, 20–22, 25 n. 1, 36, 48, 87 n, 140.
Adler, 32 n., 40–43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 53, 63, 116.
Aetna, 19 n. 1, 61, 72.
Ajaccio, 128.
Albano, 22, 41.
Alberti, F. L., 4 n. 3.
Alfieri, 117 n. 4.
American, An, 145.
Amalfi, 9, 128.
Ampère, 1 n.
Ancona, d', 1 n., 2 n., 26 n. 1, 27 n. 1.
Andrea del Sarto, 10, 11.
Andres, 45 n. 1, 50–53, 55, 56, 67.
Angelico, Fra, 10, 33, 68, 99, 101, 102, 103 n. 4, 109.
Annunzio, d', 136 n. 2.
Antiquity: interest in, 5, 9, 10, 11, 20 n., 33, 46, 48, 50, 51, 57, 60, 62 n. 1, 62 n. 2, 62 n. 5, 64, 66, 68, 82, 86 n. 2, 87 n., 97 n. 1, 99, 100, 105, 110, 118, 130, 131, 134, 137 ff.; Greek, xiv, 11, 21, 33, 35, 36 ff., 49, 61, 65, 67, 68, 81, 82, 85, 99, 122 n. 1, 135, 140; Roman, 5, 9, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25 n. 1, 33, 35, 45 n. 1, 114, 126.
Apennines, 22, 96.
Archenholtz, von, 79 n.
Arndt, 103, 104, 122.
Arno Miscellany, The, 75 n.
Arquà, 98 n. 1.
Assisi, 11, 32, 67, 68, 114, 118, 123, 130, 135; Temple of Minerva, 67; Sta. Maria della Minerva, 68; Church of St. Francis, 131.

Backer, de, 50 n. 1.
Balzac, 5 n. 1.
Barbier, 108 n. 6.
Baretti, 78 n.
Bartels, 64 n. 3.
Barthélemy, 8, 35, 36 f., 38, 39, 64 n. 1.
Batoni, 51.
Bellay, du, 3 n. 1.
Bellini, 10, 32, 46, 51, 86 n. 2, 99, 101, 102, 106, 106 n. 4.
Benedict XIV, 25.
Bergamo, 128.
Bernini, 6 n. 2, 8, 10, 20 n., 42.
Bernoulli, 1 n., 30 n.
Bertrand, 36 n. 1.
Besson, 108 n. 6.
Beyle: see Stendhal.
Biscari, 61, 61 n. 1, 62 n. 1.
Blainville, de, 17 f., 29 n. 2.
Blanc, 1 n.
Blashfields, The, 147.
Bocage, Mme du, 74 n. 1, 116.
Bojanowski, von, 20 n.
Bologna, 11, 24, 28, 34 n., 38, 40, 51, 57 n. 1, 67, 72, 74 n. 1, 77, 103 n. 3, 104, 109, 110, 126, 131; School of, 9, 25 n. 1, 26, 28, 49, 57 n. 1, 67, 86 n. 2, 99, 100, 103 n. 4, 105, 108, 108 n. 7, 109, 118 n. 7, 131, 145, 146; S. Petronio, 51, 67.
Bonstetten, 87 n.
Borch, de, 62, 62 n. 2.
Bosio, 7 n. 1.
Bossuet, 5.
Botticelli, 10.
Bouchard, 3 n. 2.
Boucke, 120 n.
Bourget, 125, 127, 134 n., 135 f., 140.
Bournet, 1 n.
Boyer, de, Marquis d'Argent, 29 n. 1.
Breval, 15, 26.
Bromley, 19 n. 1.
Brosses, de, 3, 22-25, 28, 29 n. 2, 36, 42, 43, 55, 56, 58, 69, 104 n. 1, 116, 125, 129, 140.
Brownings, The, 134 n.
Brydone, 62 n. 1, 63 n. 1.
Büsching, 31 n. 1.
Burckhardt, 123.
Burnet, 12 f., 14 n. 1, 17, 29 n. 2, 121.
Burney, 18 n. 2, 30 n.
Bury, 99, 102.
Byron, 41, 42, 52, 55, 58, 58 n. 1, 94–96, 97, 98, 98 n. 1, 98 n. 3, 100, 105, 106, 108 n. 6, 110, 116, 119, 120 n., 133, 140.

Calabria, 63 n. 1.
Calieri, 33 n.
Campagna, 106 n. 4.
Canossa, 128.
Canova, 45 n. 1.
Capri, 9, 21.
Carpaccio, 10, 32, 51, 106.
Carracci, The, 9, 11, 54, 67; Annibale, 14.
Casanova, 78 n., 132 n. 1.
Castel-Franco, 38.
Catania: Dome of, 61.
Cavilers, 77 n. 6.

Caylus, 8, 35.
Cento, 67.
Cenzatti, Gemma, 94 n. 2.
Chateaubriand, 89 f., 91, 91 n., 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 98 n. 1, 100, 108 n. 6, 116, 119, 120 n., 133, 140.
Chausse, de la, 32 n.
Chigi, 51.
Chiusi, 128.
Cimabue, 23, 24, 34 n., 109.
Cima da Conegliano, 106.
Circe: Capo of, 127.
Cività Vecchia, 129.
Clement XII, 24, 25, 74 n. 1.
Clement XIII, 74 n. 1.
Clement XIV, 117.
Cluverius, 7 n. 1, 59, 59 n. 1.
Cochin, 10 n. 1, 11, 20 n., 26, 28, 30, 40, 43, 46, 67, 91 n., 99, 101, 104 n. 1, 112 n. 1.
Cooper, 145 f.
Como: Lake of, 9.
Corke and Orrery: Earl of, 20 n.
Corilla, 79 n.
Correggio, 10, 11, 14.
Cortona, 123, 128.
Coryate, 3 f., 119.
Courier, 88.
Coyer, 20 n.
Crawford, 147.
Crema, 128.

Dairval, Baudelot de, 8 n. 2.
Dannecker, 45 n. 1.
Dante, 16 n. 1, 37, 66, 132.
David, 45 n. 1, 51.
Dehio, 137.
Dictionnaire historique et géographique portatif de l'Italie, 31 n. 1.
Diderot, xiv, 19, 39, 39 n. 1, 44 n., 44, 64, 86.
Dominichino, 9, 132.
Donatello, 10, 66, 102, 114.
Dowden, 97 n. 2.
Drummond, 77 n. 6.
Dryden, 60 n.
Duclos, 74 n. 1.
Düntzer, 111 n. 1.
Dupaty, 55-58, 63, 70, 71, 82 n. 2, 83, 90, 92, 95 n. 5, 97, 116, 119, 140.
Dutens, 31 n. 1.

Efemeridi letterarie, 27 n. 2.
Eichendorff, 97 n. 3.
Eliot, George, 134 n.
Encyclopédie, xiv, 64.
Eustace, 87 n.
Evelyn, 7 f., 8, 119, 134.

External nature: interest in, 5, 9, 20 n., 22, 25 n. 1, 26, 28, 35, 37, 38, 42, 46, 48, 54, 57, 58 n. 1, 60, 60 n., 61, 64, 78 n., 82, 83, 83 n. 2, 84 n. 1, 86 n. 2, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 114, 116, 119, 121, 124, 127, 135, 137 ff., 146.

Fabricius, 4 n. 3.
Farinelli, 1 n.
Ferrara, 3, 67.
Florence, 4 n. 3, 6, 6 n. 1, 16, 19 n. 1, 23, 24, 25 n. 1, 32, 33 n., 37, 38, 40, 44, 49, 50, 54, 67, 67 n. 1, 74 n. 1, 75 n., 77 n. 6, 79 n., 92, 92 n. 1, 93, 96 n. 1, 103, 106, 107, 108 n. 7, 109, 110, 112, 114, 131, 134 n., 147; Accademia, 109; Battistorio, 14, 23, 100; Cathedral of, 14 n. 1; churches of, 20 n.; Sta. Croce, 33, 123; San Marco, 33, 101; Sta. Maria Novella, 32, 103; Palazzo Vecchio, 33, 131; Pitti, 11, 102; Tower of Giotto, 14 n. 1, 15, 32; Uffizi, 2, 6, 11, 21, 56, 102.
Florentine Miscellany, The, 75 n.
Foggia, 123, 124.
Foligno, 128.
Fontano, 32 n.
Forestiero . . . . intorno le cose . . . . di Venezia, 33 n.
Forsyth, 87 n.
France, 134 n.
Francia, 10, 81, 103 n. 3, 105.
Frascati, 14, 29, 41, 83 n. 2, 84.
Freeman, 128 n. 4.
Friedländer, 1 n., 2 n. 2, 114 n. 3.
Fuller, 147.

Gaddi, 23.
Gallipoli, 61.
Gaudy, 133 n. 1.
Gautier, 107 n.
Garda: Lake of, 9, 21.
Geibel, 134 n.
Gelato, 34 n.
Genlis, Mme de, 58 n. 1.
Genoa, 54, 56, 74 n. 1, 92, 131, 147.
Gerhard, 104 n. 4.
Gerning, 88 n. 1.
Ghiberti, 10, 23, 24.
Ghirlandajo, 10, 102, 103, 103 n. 4, 104.
Gifford, 75 n.
Giorgione, 51.
Giotto, 10, 23, 24, 33, 34 n., 66, 67, 100, 105, 109, 114, 132.
Girgenti, 61, 116.
Goedeke, 111 n. 1.
Goethe, Johann Caspar, 14 n. 1, 20 n.
GOETHE, WOLFGANG VON, xiv, 1 n., 2, 12, 18 n. 2, 19, 19 n. 1, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53, 59, 60 n. 1, 62, 62 n. 5, 64, 64 n. 2, 64 n. 3, 74 n. 1, 75 n., 79 n., 86, 87 n., 89 n. 1, 90, 100, 104 n. 1, 104 n. 3, 108 n. 6, 123, 124, 125, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138,

140, 141; *Aeltere Gemälde*, 111 n. 2; *Architektonisch-naturhistorisches Problem*, 112 n. 1, 113 n.1; *Benvenuto Cellini*, 112; *Anhang zu*, 101 n. 5, 112; *Briefe aus der Schweiz*, 116; Cagliostro, essay on, 111; Dante, essay on, 113 n. 2; *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 113, 116, 117; essays in the *Teutsche Merkur*, 111; *Italienische Reise*, xiii, xv, 20 n., 47 n. 1, 59, 65, 84, 98 n. 2, 101 n. 5, 110, 111–22, 129, 136, 140, 141; "Kennst du das Land," 89 n. 1.; *Klassiker und Romantiker in Italien*, etc., 113 n. 2; Lionardo's Last Supper, essay on, 113 n. 2; Lowe's *Bildnisse jetzt lebender Gelehrten*, review of, 117; Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar, essay on, 113 n. 2; Manzoni's *Il Conte di Carmagnola*, review of, 113 n. 2; *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, 47 n. 1, 73; (and Meyer), *Neu-deutsche religios-patriotische Kunst*, 118 n. 7; *Philipp Hackert*, 112, 112 n. 1; *Römische Elegien*, 89 n. 1, 111; *Römische Karneval, Das*, 75 n. 8, 111; *Tagebücher*, 47 n. 1, 65–85, 98, 101 n. 5, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122 n. 1; *Tasso*, 111; *Venetianische Epigramme*, 111; *Vorbereitung zur zweiten Reise nach Italien*, 112 n. 1; *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, 121; *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert*, 112; *Zur Morphologie*, 85 n. 3; *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, 84, 104 n. 3, 111–22.

Goldoni, 18, 117 n. 4, 131.

Goncourt, 134 n.

Gori, 33 n.

Gosse, 18 n. 2.

Goudar, 78 n.

Gougenot, 28 n. 1.

Gozzi, 132 n. 1.

Gray, 18 n. 2, 25 n. 1.

Graevenitz, von, 1 n.

Gregorovius, 123–28, 132, 133, 136, 137, 140, 141.

Grillparzer, 94 n. 5.

Grosley, 3 n. 2, 18 f., 29 n. 2.

Guercino, 9, 11, 24, 51, 54, 66, 67, 67 n. 2, 96 n. 1, 100, 102, 108.

Guide des étrangers dans Milan, 34 n.

Haarhaus, 81 n. 1.

Hackert, 51, 62.

Hadrian, 5.

Hamilton, 60 n. 1, 75 n.

Harnack, 45 n. 1, 102 n. 3.

Havard, 19 n. 1.

Hawthorne, 146.

Haym, 79 n.

Hebbel, 134 n.

Hehn, 1 n., 136–40, 141.

Heine, 1 n., 104 n. 3, 120 n.

Heinse, 18 n. 2, 39, 43–47, 49, 58 n. 1, 66, 116, 121, 140.

Herculaneum, 22 n. 2.

Herder, xiv, 39, 70 n. 2, 73, 78 n., 79 n., 80, 98, 114 n. 4.

Heusler, 81 n. 1, 81 n. 2.

Hewlitt, 134 n.

Heyse, 134 n.

Hirt, 102.

History: interest in, xiv, 9, 18, 34, 44, 45, 47 f., 50, 62 n. 5, 65, 69, 80, 80 n. 1, 81, 83, 86 n. 2, 89, 91 n., 95, 116, 117, 119, 122 n. 1, 123 ff., 133, 135, 136, 137 ff., 146.

Hohenstaufen, 124, 127.

Hondius, 7 n. 1.

Houel, 64, 64 n. 1, 64 n. 2.

Howells, 146.

Huch, Ricarda, 134 n.

Hughes, 4 n. 1.

Humanists, 4 n. 2, 5, 35.

Humble: interest in the, xiv, 18, 56, 57, 64, 65, 118, 124.

Humboldt, von, 91 n.

Hurd, 98.

Italian literature: interest in, 28, 38, 96 n. 1, 98 n. 1, 113 n. 2, 117 n. 4; music: interest in, 18, 18 n. 2, 44 n. 1, 78 n.

Italy: importance of, for culture, xiv, 98 n. 3, 105 n. 2, 106, 140, 145.

Ischia, 93, 114.

Jagemann, 31 n. 1, 79 n.

Jean Paul, 97 n. 3.

James, 147.

Jessen, 44 n.. 44 n. 2, 44 n. 3.

Justi, 33 n., 37 n. 2, 37 n. 3.

Kaufmann, Angelica, 51.

Karsch (die Karschin) 79 n.

Keyssler, 16 f., 30, 31 n. 1, 47, 59, 121.

Kircher, 7 n. 1, 8.

Klenze, von, 104 n. 4.

Knebel, 78 n.

Knight, 62, 62 n. 5.

Koch, 108 n. 6.

Kölbing, 95 n. 5.

Kotzebue, 104 n. 3, 133.

Kühnemann, 70 n. 2.

Kuettner, 88.

Kurz, Isolde, 134 n.

Labat, 19 n. 1.

Lalande, 1 n., 12, 13, 14, 25, 26, 26 n. 1, 27–29, 30, 31, 31 n. 1, 32 n., 34, 35, 36, 43, 47, 58, 59, 70, 98, 98 n. 2, 100 n. 1, 104 n. 1, 112 n. 1, 119, 121, 125, 133, 140.

Lamartine, 92–94, 96, 97, 119.

Landscape: cf. External nature.

Lansom, 145, 146.

Lassals, 19 n. 1.

Latuada, 34 n.

Leanti, 59 n. 2.
Lebrun, Mme., 100.
Lecce, 61, 123.
Le Clerk, 22 n. 1.
Lerice, 124, 128.
Lessing, 27 n. 2, 30 n., 39 n. 1, 62 n. 4, 78 n., 117.
Lionardo da Vinci, 10.
Lippis, the, 10; Filippo, 23, 102, 108.
Lisle, de, 134 n.
Livorno, 37, 92.
Locella, 117 n. 4.
Lombardy, 96.
Loretto, 15, 21.
Lorraio, Claude, 7.
Lucca, 4 n. 3, 22.
Ludwig, Fürst zu Anhalt-Köthen, 4 n. 3.

Mabillon, 17.
Macaulay, 22 n. 1.
Maddalena, 27 n. 2.
Maffei, 34 n., 61.
Magna Graecia, 61.
Manfredonia, 124.
Mann, 25 n. 1, 75 n., 77 n. 6.
Manners and customs (governments): interest in, 9, 14 n. 1, 17, 20 n., 24, 26, 27, 28, 34, 50, 58 n. 1, 61, 62, 62 n. 1, 64, 74, 74 n. 1, 75, 76, 77 n. 6, 85, 88 n. 1, 116.
Manso, 6 n. 1.
Mantegna, 66, 81, 82 n. 1, 92, 105.
Mantua, 11, 111.
Marsala, 61.
Martinius, 34 n.
Masaccio, 10, 34 n., 68, 103 n. 4.
Matthison, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 122.
Maupassant, 134.
Mendelssohn, 133 n. 1.
Mengin, 90 n. 5, 94 n. 2, 97 n. 2.
Mengs, 10 n. 1, 26, 29 n. 3, 31, 39, 45 n. 1, 51, 80, 81, 86 n. 2, 99, 100, 101, 105.
Menzel, 108-10, 132.
Merville, de, 74 n. 1.
Messina, 61.
Method: descriptive, 34, 70; lyrical, 70; personal, 104 n. 3, 133, 133 n. 1; scientific (deterministic), 47 n. 1, 70 ff., 98, 110, 114, 114 n. 4, 115, 115 n. 1, 116, 116 n. 1, 120 n., 122, 129 ff., 135, 137 ff., 141.
Meyer, C. F., 134 n.
Meyer, F. I. L., 51 n. 1.
Meyer, Heinrich, 100-102, 103 n. 4, 105, 112, 112 n. 2, 121 n. 1.
Meyer, R. M., 128 n. 1.
Michael Angelo, 2, 10, 15, 17, 23, 24, 37, 39, 42, 43, 49, 78 n., 79 n., 130, 145, 146.
Middle Ages: interest in, 10, 23, 32, 43, 47, 49, 50, 55, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 81, 87 n., 98, 109, 110, 114, 114 n. 2, 113, 118 n. 2, 123, 124, 126, 130, 131, 134, 135, 140.
Milan, 21, 32, 34 n., 42, 54, 111; Dome of, 13, 26, 33, 42, 46, 50, 51, 92, 105 n. 2, 133; St. Ambrogio, 33.
Miller, Mrs., 20 n.
Milton, 5, 6 n. 1.
Misson, 7 n. 1, 13 f., 15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29 n. 2, 104 n. 1, 132 n. 1.
Monreale, 60, 123, 124; Cathedral of, 60, 60 n., 61, 62 n. 2, 69, 108, 114 n. 2.
Monrealese, 61.
Montagu, Lady, 74 n. 1.
Montaigne, de, 2 f., 4, 4 n. 3, 5, 6, 19, 42.
Montefalco, 128.
Montepulciano, 136.
Montfaucon, 17, 32 n.
Monti, 51.
Moore, John, 74 n.
Moore, Thomas, 98 n. 3.
Morandi, 78 n.
Moritz, 45 n. 1, 47-50, 53, 82, 82 n. 2, 90, 116, 119.
Moryson, 4 n. 1.
Münter, 64 n. 3.
Muncker, 27 n. 2.
Musset, 97 n. 3, 134 n.
Mysticism, 23, 68, 82, 82 n. 1, 98, 130, 135.

Naples, 3 n. 2, 6 n. 1, 11, 13, 14, 21, 37, 38, 54, 60 n., 72, 77, 79 n., 82, 86 n. 2, 87, 90 n. 5, 92, 93, 106 n. 3, 113, 113 n. 1, 114, 115, 116, 118 n. 3, 121, 127, 145.
Napoleon, 87, 87 n. 1.
Nardini, 32 n.
"Nazarener," 99, 108 n. 7, 109, 118 n. 7.
Neer, van der, 118 n. 3.
Nemeitz, 14, 14 n. 1.
Nicolovius, 114.
Niebuhr, xiii, 108 n. 7, 120 n.
Non, de, 63 n. 1.
Norton, 146.
Novalis, 98.
Nugent, 31 n. 1.

Orcagna, 109.
Orvieto, 32, 107, 108, 128, 135, 146, 147.
Orville, d', 59 n. 2.
Otranto, 61.
Owen, 86 n. 2.

Padua, 11, 32, 40, 66, 73, 100, 102, 114, 132.
Paestum, 122 n. 1.
Pagét, 57 n. 1.
Palermo, 60, 61, 108, 116, 118 n. 3, 124, 125; Cathedral of, 60, 123; Monte Pellegrino, 125.
Palladio, 11, 14, 42, 55, 66, 81 n. 1, 99, 103, 107.

Pancrazi, 59 n. 2.
Panvinio, 32 n.
Parma, 11.
Passionei (Cardinal), 25.
Pavia, 1; Certosa of, 23.
Pecci, 34 n.
Pergolese, 18 n. 2.
Perugia, 11, 20 n., 28, 32, 67, 86 n. 2, 99, 110, 128, 136.
Perugino, 51, 67, 81, 92, 100.
Piazetta, 66.
Picturesque: sense of, xv, 3, 7, 25, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47 f., 53, 54, 57, 63, 65, 82, 83, 90, 99, 118, 118 n. 3, 119, 120, 122, 122 n. 1, 134.
Pilati, 79 n.
Pinturicchio, 101, 103 n.
Piombo, dal, 106 n. 4.
Piozzi, Mrs., 53-55, 56, 57, 58 n. 1, 63, 75 n., 82, 84, 97, 116, 119.
Piranesi, 33 n.
Pisa, 3, 11, 20 n., 21, 32, 37, 40, 78 n., 131; Dome of, 7, 20 n., 34 n., 54, 87 n., 103, 145, 146; Campo Santo, 7, 58, 108.
Pisa, Bagni di, 54.
Pisano, 10.
Platen, 42, 105-8, 110.
Pococke, 20 n.
Pöllnitz, 74 n. 1.
Ponza, Islands of, 127.
Porto Venere, 128.
Poussin, 1 n.

Quérard, 13 n. 1, 14 n. 1.

Rabelais, 5 n.
Racine, 5.
Radcliffe, Mrs., 58 n. 1, 94 n. 3.
Raphael, 6, 9, 10, 14, 50, 67, 81, 92, 99, 109, 120, 122 n. 1, 130.
Rationalism, 9-34, 50, 58, 62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 81, 98, 99, 103, 104, 105, 109, 115, 119, 123 n. 1, 127.
Raumer, 103, 125.
Ravenna, 11, 16, 21, 28, 98 n. 1, 108, 124, 126, 132; S. Apollinare, 132; S. Vitale, 132.
Ray, 19 n. 1.
Recke, Elisa von der, 88 n. 1.
Reggio, 61.
Regnault, 1 n.
Reiffenstein, 102.
Renaissance: interest in, 10, 37, 131, 141; early, 23, 32, 43, 50, 67, 81, 99, 100, 101, 104, 109, 111, 123, 135, 146; high, 10, 25 n. 1, 45 n. 1, 49, 66, 68, 100, 118.
Reni, Guido, 9, 11, 14, 24, 51, 57, 67, 103 n. 4, 132, 145.
Reumont, 4 n. 3.
Reynolds, 39 n. 1.
Richard, Abbé, 1 n., 25, 26 f., 28, 29, 29 n. 2, 30, 59, 112 n. 1.
Richarderie, Boucher de la, 1 n., 27 n. 1.
Richardson, 10 n. 1.
Riedesel, 60-62, 62 n. 2, 63 n. 1.
Rimini, 128.
Rio, 69, 99.
Rocheblave, 11 n. 2, 28, 36 n. 1.
Rogers, 134 n.
Rogissart, 19 n. 1.
Roma antica e moderna, 32 n.
Romano, Giulio, 11, 24.
Romanticism, 10 n. 1, 34, 41, 42, 43, 46, 48, 53, 82, 83 n. 3, 86-110, 111, 114, 115, 119, 119 n. 1, 123 n. 1, 124, 127.
Rome, 3, 3 n. 1, 4 n. 2, 4 n. 3, 6 n. 1, 8, 11, 21, 22, 27 n. 2, 29, 30, 32, 32 n., 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45 n. 1, 47, 48, 51, 57, 58 n. 1, 64 n. 3, 66, 67, 67 n. 1, 70, 71, 71 n. 4, 72, 72 n. 12, 73, 74 n. 1, 75, 76, 78 n., 79 n., 82, 84, 85, 85 n. 2, 87, 87 n., 87 n. 1, 88 n. 1, 90, 91 n., 92, 94, 95, 96, 99, 106 n. 3, 107, 108 n. 7, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 120, 120 n., 121, 121 n. 1, 121 n. 2, 126, 131, 138, 139, 145, 146; Sant' Agnese Fuori, 33, 68; ancient, 2, 3 n. 1, 5 n. 1, 6, 40, 57, 90 n. 5; Campagna di, 89; Capitol, 17, 45, 89; Catacombs, 33, 50, 67, 89, 90 n. 5, 118 n. 6; Chapel of Nicholas V, 33, 102; Colosseum, 7, 41, 45, 78 n., 82 n. 2, 89; Corsini Palazzo, 101; Costaguti Palazzo, 108; Foro Boario, 45; Forum (Campo Vaccino), 14, 18, 26 n. 1, 47; Gesù Church, 24, 129; Sta. Maria del Popolo, 101; Sta. Maria in Trastevere, 67; mediaeval, 7 n. 1, 89, 95; modern, 38, 57; Pantheon, 24, 41, 45, 57, 58 n., 95; St. Peter's, 6 n. 2, 14, 20 n., 40, 41, 49, 52, 78 n., 84, 89, 95, 110, 129; S. Pietro in Vincoli, 102; Sistine Chapel, 32 n., 33, 69, 103 n. 4; Temple of Vesta, 24; Tiber, 89; Vatican, 6, 46, 89, 95; Villa Adriana, 89 n. 3; Villa Pamphili, 48.
Rossini, 32 n.
Rousseau, xiv, 35, 44, 55, 56, 56 n., 57, 58 n. 1, 86.
Ruggieri, 33 n.
Rumohr, 99, 102 n. 6, 103 n.
Ruskin, 55, 67, 69, 94, 99, 132, 134 n., 146.

S. . . . . 20 n.
St. Non, 63, 63 n. 1, 63 n. 2, 64, 112 n. 1.
Ste. Beuve, 2 n. 1, 22 n. 2, 74 n. 1, 89 n. 3.
Sammlung der besten und neuesten Reisebeschreibungen, 31 n. 1.
Sand, George, 97 n. 3.
San Marino, 22.
Saracen art and civilization, 64, 114 n. 2, 124, 125.
Sardinia: kingdom of, 17, 74 n. 1.
Scamozzi, 33 n., 34 n.
Schack, 134 n.
Schiller, 58 n. 1.
Schlegel, A. W., 91, 99, 105 n. 2, 118 n. 7, 131.

Schlegel, Fr., 44 n., 69, 92 n. 4, 99, 105, 105 n. 2, 118 n. 7, 131.
Schmidt, E., 27 n. 2, 111 n. 1.
Schneider, 125, 136.
Scholarship: interest in, 16, 27, 27 n. 2, 117 n. 4.
Schorn, 104 n. 4.
Schuchardt, xiii.
Schumann, 78 n.
Schuyler, 78 n.
Science, xiv, 27, 32, 34, 51, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70 ff., 86 n. 2, 110, 114, 114 n. 4, 116, 117, 123, 137 ff.
Scott, 98.
Scottus, 7 n. 1.
Segesta, 61, 82.
Selinus, 61.
Serieys, 36 n. 1.
Sestini, 62, 62 n. 2.
Seume, 88 n. 1, 116, 121.
Shakespeare, 4 n. 1, 79 n.; *Romeo and Juliet*, 5 n. 1; *Merchant of Venice*, 5 n. 1.
Sharp, 78 n.
Shelley, 42, 96 f., 98 n. 3, 100, 105, 106, 116, 134 n.
Sicily, 8, 16, 17, 30 n., 36, 59-64, 72, 113, 114, 114 n. 2, 115, 115 n. 1, 116, 121, 124, 134, 138, 139.
Siebeck, 115 n. 1.
Siena, 4 n. 3, 11, 16, 21, 28, 32, 34 n., 49, 54, 74 n. 1, 107, 128, 131; Cathedral of, 20 n., 103 n., 131; School of, 34 n.
Signorelli, 10.
Skippen, 8.
Smidt, 1 n.
Smollett, 78 n., 79 n.
Sorrento, 9.
Southern Italy, 20 n., 108 n. 6,
Spello, 128.
Speyer, 134 n.
Spezzia, 128, 147.
Spoleto, 67, 102, 108, 136.
Spon, 8, 17.
Staël, Mme de, 91 f., 94, 97, 100, 105 n. 2.
Stendhal, 1 n., 22, 103 f., 105, 106.
Stern, 78 n.
Stolberg, 86 n. 2, 114, 121.
Stunica, 4 n. 3.
Suphan, 112 n. 1.
Swinburne, A. C., 134 n.
Swinburne, H., 62 n. 2, 63 n. 1.
Symonds, 123, 128.
Syracuse, 140.

Taine, 115 n. 3, 125, 128-33, 134, 135, 140, 141.
Taormina, 9, 61.
Taranto, 61.
Tasso, 6 n. 1.
Terni, 67, 72.
Theodoric, 28, 66, 103 n. 3.
Thiersch, 104 f.
Tieck, 97 n. 3, 103 n. 3.
Tiepolo, 66.
Tintoretto, 2, 4, 11, 66.
Tiraboschi, 50 n. 1.
Tischbein, 45 n. 1, 51, 82 n. 1, 102.
Titian, 2, 10, 11, 14, 66, 100, 106 n. 4, 107.
Tivoli, 29, 41, 42, 46, 48, 57, 82, 84.
Trapani, 61.
Trippel, 45 n. 1.
Turin, 11, 24, 28, 30, 43, 52, 54, 86 n. 2, 100.
Turner, 134 n.
Tuscany, 32, 93, 136.

Umbria, 32, 125, 136.
Urbino, 123, 128.

Vasari, 103 n.
Veneto, 32.
Venice, 2, 3, 4, 4 n. 3, 7, 11, 14, 17, 20 n., 21, 22, 27 n. 2, 32, 33 n., 38, 40, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52 f., 54, 55, 56, 58 n. 1, 66, 73, 74 n. 1, 75, 76, 78 n., 79 n., 82, 83, 86 n. 2, 87, 87 n., 88, 88 n. 1, 90, 92 n. 1, 94, 94 n. 5, 96, 96 n. 1, 98 n. 3, 105, 106, 106 n. 3, 107, 107 n., 108, 108 n. 7, 109, 111, 114, 115, 120 n., 132, 132 n. 1, 134 n., 146; Canal Grande, 52, 88; Carità, 66; Ducal Palace, 23, 32, 52, 69; S. Geminiano, 52; S. Giorgio Maggiore, 66; S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, 32; SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 107; San Giuliano, 106 n. 4; St. Mark's, 2, 8, 13, 23, 24, 32, 52, 54, 55, 57 n. 1, 69, 103; St. Mark's Square, 52, 66, 88; Redentore, 66, 105 n. 1; Salute, 105 n. 1; San Salvatore, 101; School of, 10, 96 n. 1, 111, 115, 130; S. Zaccaria, 32, 46, 86 n. 2.
Venuti, 33 n.
Verona, 11, 34 n., 66, 88, 111, 114, 117, 133; amphitheater, 66, 103 n. 3, 107, 133; Arche degli Scaligeri (Tombe), 15, 34 n., 66, 103, 103 n. 3, 105, 133; S. Zeno, 34 n., 46, 52, 66, 69, 100, 105, 133.
Veronese, Paolo, 10, 11, 14 n. 1, 56, 66, 106 n. 4, 107.
Vesuvius, 54, 82, 116 n. 1.
Vicenza, 11, 33 n., 66, 71, 83, 103, 114.
Vischer, 134 n.
Visconti, Abbé, 51; Visconti, E., 62 n. 3.
Vivarini, 106.
Vogel, 87 n. 1.
Volhehr, 81 n. 1.
Volkmann, 1 n., 12, 27 n. 2, 29-31, 36, 42, 67, 81 n. 2.
Voltaire, xiv, 16 n. 1, 19, 22, 22 n. 2, 25, 28, 34 n., 55, 62 n. 3, 78 n., 86, 104 n. 1, 117, 140.
Voyageur italien, un, 62.

Wackenroder, 69, 99, 105.
Walpole, 25 n. 1.
Ward, Mrs., 134 n.
Wauer, 111 n. 1, 117.
Weber, 111 n. 1.
Weinlig, 33 n.
Weizsäcker, 102 n. 3.
Wharton, Mrs., 147.
Wheler, 8.
Winckelmann, xiv, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17 n. 1, 25, 27 n. 2, 29 n. 2, 29 n. 3, 30, 32 n., 36, 37–39, 40, 43, 44, 45 n. 1, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 59 n. 2, 60, 62, 64, 68, 69, 80, 81, 84, 98, 99, 100, 104, 112, 140.
"Wonne der Wehmut," 26, 41, 45, 46, 53, 83 n. 3, 86, 89, 89 n. 3, 91 n., 92, 94, 106, 108 n. 6, 120 n.
Wood, 87 n.
Wordsworth, 134 n.
Wright, 7 n. 1, 15, 29 n. 2, 59.

Zaffarana, 125.
Zehender, 80 n.
Zeiller, 6 f., 7 n. 1, 19, 30, 42, 59, 119.
Zinzendorf, 60 n. 1.